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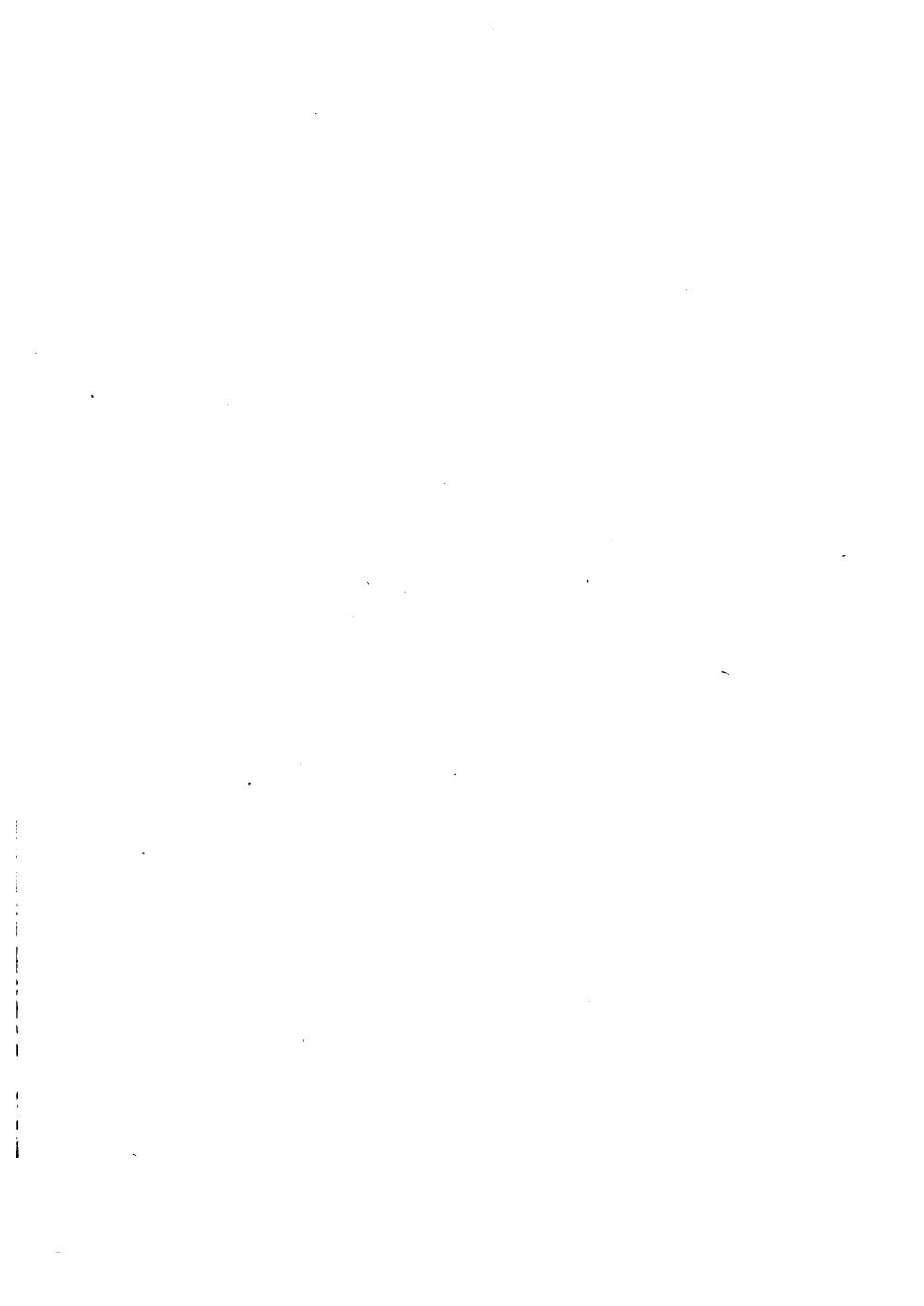
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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
L I F E and R E I G N
O F T H E
Empress CATHARINE:

C O N T A I N I N G

A short HISTORY of the RUSSIAN
Empire, from its first FOUNDATION to the
Time of the Death of that PRINCESS.

V O L. II.

By JOHN MOTTLEY, Esq;

C
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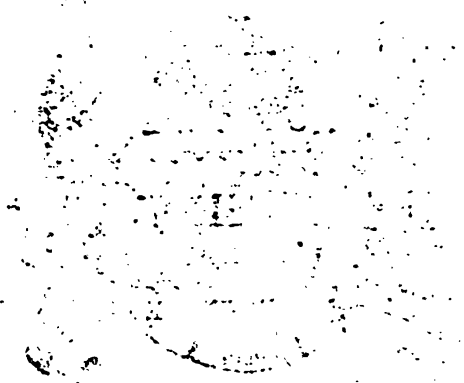
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To the Right Honourable

T H E

Lord Viscount *PERCEVAL*.

MY LORD,



T is not only the shining Figure, that your Lordship makes in the World, by your great Abilities, and, (I wish I could not

DEDICATION.

not say,) *uncommon* Virtues, that prompts me to make this publick Address to your Lordship, but the irresistible Desire I have, to express that Joy, which I find arising in my Breast from being told, on all Sides, that the Son of the Earl of *Egmont*, is as much the Darling of the People, as of that Father, to whom I have so great Obligations; such Obligations, that, how regardless so ever he may be of any poor Acknowledgments I am able to make of them, will, to the latest Hour of my Breath, be constantly

DEDICATION.

ly uppermost in my grateful Remembrance.

I know, my Lord, I cannot shew my Gratitude to him, in a more sensible Manner, than by paying a due Respect to your Lordship; nor, can I have a better Recommendation to you, than having the utmost Veneration for your noble Father. The great Worth and Merits of the Earl of *Egmont* were never call'd in Question by any one; nor, can any one forbear admiring the same in your Lordship: Never
were

DEDICATION.

were Father and Son more worthy of each other.

As to the Work, I now take the Liberty to present to your Lordship, I fear I can have Nothing to boast of, from it; but, that it gives me this Opportunity, of assuring your Lordship, how much I am,

My LORD,

With the most profound Respect,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient,

Humble Servant,

JOHN MOTTLEY.



THE
HISTORY
OF
RUSSIA,

To the End of the REIGN of the
Empress CATHARINE.

BOOK I.

CONTENTS.

*Some Account of the ORIGIN of this great
Princess, and of her Conduct during the Life
of the Emperor PETER.*



MOST of the *French* Authors who
have undertaken to write the His-
tory of the Life of this incompa-
rable Lady, have in the Begin-
ning of their Works endeavoured to shew,
how much superior the Fair Sex are by Na-
ture in their Understandings and Abilities to

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the

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the Men, have enumerated the many great Achievements of the Heroines in ancient and modern Times, and given us Examples of their Magnanimity from the Histories of of *Thomyris*, *Zenobia*, our own *Elizabeth*, and others; but I shall avoid this common Place, not seeing there is any Reason to derogate from the Honour of the Men to pay this Compliment to the other Sex, one Part of whose Glory it will always be, that they know how to support with Dignity those Relations and Dependencies they have to, and upon the Male Part of our Species. There are Offices peculiar to their delicate and tender Frames, without interfering with the Province assigned to the Men, and which is more graceful and becoming to them than the Mysteries of Government and the Arts of War: And yet it cannot be denied, that when Occasion has offered, and they have been called to Empire, they have many Times shewn as great Capacities, as the most boasted Heroes of what we vainly call the nobler Sex. And perhaps few have given stronger Proofs of these, than the Empress CATHARINE, who, succeeding the great PETER upon so precarious a Title, had Occasion for more than common Abilities to support herself on the Throne.

The Birth of
CATHARINE.

As to the Birth of this Princess, the Accounts that have been published of it, have little of Certainty in them, more than that she was descended of mean Parents, who were not able to give her any Education, which, so far from being disgraceful to her, reflects the greater Lustre upon her own Merits, since it is owing to herself alone, to her own Genius,

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nius, her own Prudence, and her own Greatness of Soul, that she was able to charm the most discerning Prince of his Time; and gain the Admiration of the whole World.

HER Parents were *Livonians* of a Village not far from *Dorpt*, who first called her *Martha* *; and the early Days of her Youth were employed in the most servile Offices, y^t her natural Genius got the better of the Meanness of her Education, and inspired her with Sentiments becoming the most high-born, and suitable to the Rank she was afterwards exalted to. We have the following Account of her Original, in a Letter from *Litbuania*, that differs in some Particulars from the Relation I have already given of her, from Monsieur *de la Motraye*, in my Life of *Peter*, which I shall remark at the Bottom of each Page.

It is to be observed, saith this Author, that the People of *Livonia* and *Esthonia* live in a slavish Servitude; so that as soon as an Infant has attained to five or six Years of Age, the Lord of the Place disposes of it according to his own Fancy, and employs it in his Service. The Male Infants of the Peasants unmarried are called *Erb-Jungens*, the Girls *Erb-Magdens*. The Mother of *Catharine*, or *Martha*, as she was yet called, was one of these *Erb-Magdens* of the Village of *Ringen*, in the District of † *Dorpt*, and under the Dependence of a Gentleman named *Rosen*, who had been in the King of *Sweden's* Service

B 2

* Which was changed to *Catharine* on her being re-baptized in the Greek Church.

† *M. de la Motraye* says she was born on the Banks of the Lake *Worthly*, not in the Neighbourhood of *Dorpt*.

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Service above twenty Years. The *Erb-Magden*, Mother of our *Catharine*, being brought to bed of her, and the Gentleman providing both for the Support of the Mother and the Child, was therefore thought to be the Father; especially as it was not known, that the *Erb-Magden* had any Husband; and few People at that Time gave themselves any Trouble concerning her Infant and its Genealogy. *Hubner*, in his genealogical Tables, says, that *Catharine* was of the Family of *Abendiel*; what might give Rise to that Report, was, that a Gentleman of that Name, having an Estate near that of Lieutenant Colonel *Rosen*, made frequent Visits in that Family, and was by some thought to be the Father of the Child rather than *M. Rosen*. Be that as it may, the Curate, who baptized her, set her down in the Parish Register among the natural Children. She was but three Years old, when she lost her Mother; and as Lieutenant Colonel *Rosen* was dead some Time before, the poor Infant was abandoned, as it were, to the miserable Care of the Vicar, who had answered for her at her Baptism. One Day as *M. Gluck*, Superintendent of *Mariembourg*, called at the Vicar of *Ringen's* in his Way to *Dorpt*, the Vicar made Complaint to him of the poor Condition he was in, and among other Things, of his being obliged to maintain this *Foundling*, shewing him young *Martba*, who began to be a well-made Lass with a happy Physiognomy. The Superintendent *Gluck*, touch'd with the poor Condition of the Vicar, was willing to relieve him of this Burden; and at his Return

to *Mariembourg*, took the Girl with him, to whom he gave the Care of dressing his Children, and waiting upon them to Church. She was treated in this Family better than a common Servant, and remained in that Condition till the eighteenth Year of her Age, growing every Day handsomer and handsomer. As the *Swedish* Garison attended the Church where the Superintendant preached, a Dragoon *, of about two and twenty Years of Age, having often seen *Martha* there fell in love with her, and formed the Design of making her his Wife. To this End, he addressed himself to a Relation of the Superintendant, who took upon him to make the Proposal to *M. Gluck*, and he answered, if the young Man had behaved well, and his Commander was satisfy'd with the Marriage, he would not oppose it. The Affair was proposed to the Major of the Regiment, who not only consented to it, but even promised, that in Consideration of the Dragoon's good Behaviour, and on account of this Marriage, he would make him a Corporal the first Day. Upon the Report of this being made to the Superintendant, he caused *Martha* to enter into the Stove, and asked her if the young Man, who was really well made, with a fine Head of Hair, was agreeable to her, and she answering, without any Hesitation, that he was, they were betrothed the same Evening. *Her first Marriage.*

WHILE this passed, the *Russians*, who were Masters of the Field in *Livonia*, were within a few Leagues of *Mariembourg*, which was threatened with a Siege; the betrothed Dra-

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goon, therefore, fearing if that should come to pass, that it might be an Obstacle to his Happiness, pressed the Superintendant to conclude the Marriage, which, some say, was actually done three Days after, but others contradict this, and affirm, that the Dragoon being sent in a Detachment, that was ordered to *Riga*, a few Days before *Mariembourg* was invested by the Velt-Mareschal *Czeremetoff*, the Marriage was so far from being consummated, that he never after saw his intended Bride, and others have pretended, without any Foundation, that he cohabited eight Days with her. Be this as it may, the Dragoon was absent when the Town was invested, and summoned to surrender. The Superintendant, who understood the *Sclavonian* Language pretty well, took a Bible under his Arm, and being followed by his Family and Parishioners, went out of the Town to the *Russian* Camp, and being introduced to the Velt-Mareschal, having his Children with him, and their Preceptor *Gottfried Uurmb*, and *Martha*, he begged Mercy from that General, which was granted him; and all his Train passing in Review before the Velt-Mareschal, he kept some of them for himself, and our young *Martha* among the rest. This happened in the year 1702.

*Is taken into
the Family of
Prince MEN-
ZIKOFF.*

ABOUT five or six Months after, Prince *Menzikoff* being at the House of General *Czeremetoff**, he was so struck with the Beauty of this fair Captive, that he demanded her of the General, who could not tell how

to

* *M. de la Motraye says it was General Baur; and he is in the Right, for Czeremetoff did not command at this Siege.*

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to refuse his Request, so the Prince had her entertained in his Family, where she continued not long, for the Czar happening soon after to come one Day to Dinner with the Prince, and observing her amidst a Crowd of Servants in the Hall, was immediately struck with her Beauty. This Monarch, says my Author, who was a good Physiognomist, presently saw this young Woman's good Fortune in her Countenance, and having commanded her to be left alone with him, he soon after ordered, that she should be conducted to his Palace, where he honoured her with the Title of *Gnadige Frau*, or *Your Grace*, establishing a Household for her, and giving her Cloaths, Money, Furniture and Servants according to his own Fancy. *And afterwards into that of the Czar.*

In the year 1703, she was baptized in the Greek Church, by the Name of *Catharine*, which Appellation we shall henceforth give her. She learned the *Russian* Language to such Perfection, in a little Time, that she almost forgot her *German*, tho' she never learn'd to read or write, but made one of the Ladies of her Bed-chamber sign any Writing for her, when there was need of it; applying her whole Thoughts in studying the Czar's Humour, and in making herself agreeable to him, in which she succeeded so well, that after having brought him several Children, their Marriage, that had been kept secret, was publicly declared in the Year 1711.

THEIR Marriage had been blessed, according to the *Russian* Custom, in the Year 1707, but was kept secret, as is said before, till the Beginning of the Year 1711; when the Em-

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peror *Peter* was disposed to leave his Country and carry the War into *Turky*, where the King of *Sweden* had sought an Asylum, after the Battle of *Pultowa*.

CHARLES XII. enflamed with a Desire of revenging himself on the *Russians*, and thinking he could not go out of this Retreat with Glory, but by braving his Enemy, and passing, as it were, in Triumph, thro' his Dominions, had used all his Endeavours to engage the *Turk*, jealous of the Laws of Hospitality, to oblige the Czar to grant him this Passage. The constant Refusal of *Peter* irritated the *Sultan*, and was the real Cause of a War, which threatened the *Ottoman* Empire with a terrible Catastrophe; so well had the Czar taken his Measures, but which, nevertheless, had like to have cost that Monarch his Life, at least his Liberty, but for the Constancy, Resolution, and good Advice of his Consort, the immortal *Catbarine*. The important Services that this Princess rendered him on this Occasion, merited all the Confidence of a Husband, who thought he could not bound his Acknowledgments by a less Present than the Crown and Imperial Throne of *Russia*, which, when he gave her, it was with this Declaration: "That
 " the Empress *Catbarine*, his most dear
 " Spouse, had been of great Service to him,
 " not only in all the Dangers of the last War,
 " but also in several other Expeditions, where-
 " in she had voluntarily accompanied him,
 " and assisted him with her Counsels, as
 " much as was possible, notwithstanding the
 " Weakness of her Sex, particularly in the
 " Battle

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“ Battle against the *Turks*, upon the River
“ *Pruth*, where his Army, reduced to 22,000
“ Men, was to make Head against 200,000
“ *Turks*. It was under this dangerous Cir-
“ cumstance, that she signalized her Zeal by
“ a Courage superior to her Sex, which is
“ not only known to all the Army, but
“ throughout the whole Empire.”

THIS is a glorious Testimony of the Em-
press *Catharine's* Merit; but, to judge of the
important Service she did her Husband, and
the great Courage she shewed, it is necessary
to give a Relation of this Event, and let the
Reader see the great Danger to which the
Emperor and the whole *Russian* Empire were
exposed, whose Preservation was intirely ow-
ing to the Prudence and good Conduct of this
Princess.

THE OTTOMAN PORTE had already seve- *The Occasion*
ral Complaints against the Court of *Russia*, *of the War*
when the King of *Sweden*, vanquished in the *between the*
famous Battle of *Pultowa*, passing the *Dnie-* *TURKS and*
per, retired into *Turky*, and implored the Pro- *RUSSIANS.*
tection of the *Porte*. Other important Com-
plaints were the building several Forts on the
Black Sea, the Usurpation of *Azoph*, and the
excessive Power which, in the Opinion of the
Turks, the *Russians* had gained by the Ruin
of the *Swedish* Army; to which may be add-
ed, the Negotiations that had been for some
Time on the Carpet, between the Emperor
of *Russia* and the unfortunate King of *Persia*,
who was persecuted by *Myrr-Magbmud*. The
King of *Sweden*, who was not ignorant of the
Disposition of the *Sultan* on these Heads, did
not fail of making his Advantage of it; and
throwing

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throwing Oil on the Fire which was ready to be kindled, by the Means of his Emissaries both at the *Porte* and with the Cham of *Tartary*: This last was an old Captain, who had both Courage and Cunning; but was much terrified at the Progress of the Emperor of *Russia* in the *Ukraine*, of which *Peter* had made himself intirely Master, since the Defeat of the *Swedes* and the Flight of *Mazepa*.

THE CHAM was, without Difficulty, persuaded that he would do the same by *Tartary*, if a Stop was not put, in Time, to the Rapidity of his Conquests. The Importance of the Business made him imagine it was not fit to be trusted with any one else, and therefore he went himself in Person to the Grand S'g'nior, to represent to him the absolute Necessity there was of declaring War with the *Russians*, to preserve the *Ottoman Empire*; since, being Masters of *Circassia*, and of *Azoph*, having seized on all the *Ukraine*, having a formidable Fleet in the *Black Sea*, and their Troops in Garison in *Poland*, even in those Provinces nearest the *Niefter*, nothing could hinder them from invading the States of his Highness, whenever they should think proper; and that being united with *Poland*, the Czar, by seizing on *Budziack*, would be in a Condition to shut up the Passage on one Side from any Assistance from *Tartary*, whilst on the other, he might throw himself, by *Walachia* and *Besserabia*, into *Bulgaria*.

THIS Picture of the Danger to which the *Ottoman Empire* was exposed, very much alarmed the *Sultan*, but made not the least Impres-

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II

Impression on the Grand Vizier *Ali-Basbaw*, nor on the *Mufti*, who both of them constantly endeavoured to dissuade the Grand Signior from lending his Ear to the Discourses of the *Cham*, which were in every Point conformable to the Remonstrances made by the *Swedish* Emissaries. This Steadiness of the first Minister, to whom the *Sultan* had great Obligations, cost him his Employment: *Cboursouly Ali-Basbaw* was deposed, and *Numan* Couprously put in his Place.

THIS Minister was as favourable as he could be, with Honour, to the King of *Sweden*, whose Virtues he admired, and whose Fortune he deplored; but was always of Opinion, that the Pretensions of that unfortunate Prince were too exorbitant, and that the *Porte* ought not to expose itself to the dangerous Consequences of a War, in Support of them: Whereupon finding himself opposed by the *Swedish* Faction in the Divan, he desired his Dismission. The Grand Signior offered the Seals to his Favourite *Cumurgi Ali-Basbaw*, but he refusing them, they were sent by his Highness to *Baltagi Mabomet*, Governor of *Aleppo*, who had been brought up in the Seraglio about the Person of *Achmet*, and during his Banishment was employed in cleaving Wood: This was the Prime Minister whom the *Cham* of *Tartary* and the *Swedes* had engaged to get a War declared with the Emperor of *Russia*, by the Publication of an *Haticheriph*, or Mandate signed by the *Sultan*, which gave Orders to all the Governors of Provinces to assemble their Troops, and send them by the Middle of *April* into the Neighbourhood

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bourhood of *Saccia*, which was to be their Place of Rendezvous. *M. Tolstoy*, the *Russian* Ambassador, was immediately shut up in the *Tedi-Kuller*, or seven Towers, an honourable Prison; but from whence he could give his Master no Information of the Storm that threatened him. That Prince, however, was not long before he knew it, by the Conduct of the *Tartars*, who lost no Time in beginning Hostilities. He had no Hopes of laying the Tempest by the way of Negotiation; the Die was thrown on the Part of the *Turks*, therefore the Czar applied all his Attention to put himself in a Condition to preserve the Glory, which the *Russian* Arms had acquired on the Banks of the *Dnieper*.

AFTER having given Orders to fit out a Fleet on the Black Sea, capable of disquieting the Seraglio itself, and for as many Troops as he could draw from the northern Provinces, to advance towards the Frontiers, this Monarch judged it would be most advantageous to endeavour to make his Enemies Territories the Theatre of the War, without allowing Time for their Troops to come and plunder his own Subjects. In this Enterprize he wanted a *Mazeppa* that might serve him against the *Sultan*, as that General had served the King of *Sweden* against the *Russians*.

DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR, a noble *Moldavian*, had been lately made Weyvode of *Moldavia*; it is very well known, that these People are *Greeks*, and though tributary to the *Porte*, detest her insupportable Yoke; therefore the Emperor *Peter* had no Difficulty in bringing Prince *Cantemir* over to his Interests,

who

who promised to join him with six or eight thousand *Moldavians*, and gave him to understand, that all the Province was ripe for an Insurrection, and would follow his Standards, and acknowledge him for their Sovereign. In reality, Prince *Cantemir* received General *Janus* with open Arms, whom the Velt-Mareschal *Czeremetoff* had sent to him; but his Subjects did not seem to be of the same Sentiments with himself, since they made no Motion but to fly to the *Turkish* Army, and carry all their Provisions with them. General *Ronne*, who had been sent with ten thousand Men into *Walachia*, in Hopes of making the Weyvode *Constantine Bessarabba* declare in favour of the *Russians*, succeeded no better: *Constantine* indeed loaded him with Compliments and Promises, but those were all that could be obtained from this Prince, who, on another Occasion, had let the Emperor of *Germany* know, that he had a good *Greek* Faith, on which he should rely, as it served his own Interest.

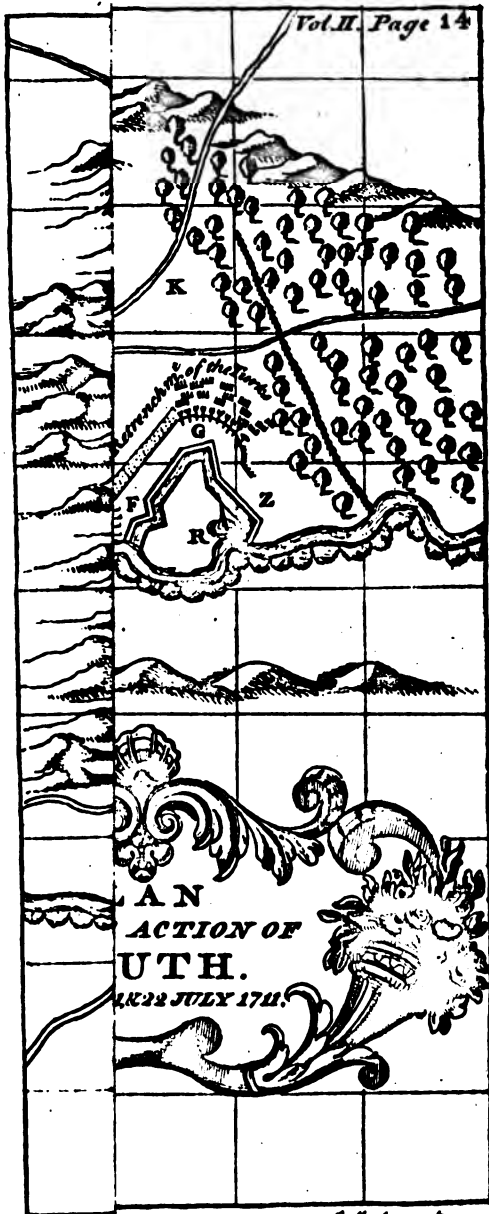
THESE Beginnings ought to have shewn the Czar, that he had taken wrong Measures, and that it would be imprudent to advance farther into a Country, which indeed was fruitful enough, but in which he had no Magazines: He was Master of his Rout; and those who piqued themselves in understanding the Trade of War, were of Opinion, that he would have had a better Game to play, if he had marched directly to *Bender*, a Town of little Strength, and ill defended; from whence, without fatiguing his Troops, he might have got before the *Turkish* Army

to

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to the Banks of the *Danube*, and disputed the Passage with them. This Army of two hundred thousand Men strong, tho' there were but an hundred and fifty thousand fighting Men in it, would have allowed him Time enough to have taken this Step, both from the Slowness of their March, and from the little Inclination of the Grand Vizier to see the Enemy too near: War was none of his Trade; he had spent a Part of his Time in cleaving Wood in the Forests, and the rest in plundering the People of his Government, and wished very much, that some Propositions might be made for a Peace before the Armies should come to an Engagement.

At length he arrived on the Banks of the *Danube*, where he learnt how much the *Russian* Army was fatigued and disordered, as well by a long March, as by a Scarcity of Provisions and Forage; besides, that the *Tartars* and discontented *Poles* had terribly harassed it in all its Rout. The *Ottoman* Army passed the *Pruth* on a Bridge of Boats at *Saccia*, as may be seen by the Plan here annexed at A. The *Tartars* and a Party of *Spahis*, who led the Van, threw themselves upon the Rear Guard of the *Russians*, and gave them no Repose, which made the Velt-Mareschal *Czeremetoff* take the Resolution of forming an Intrenchment of Chevaux-de-frise to stop this Cavalry; but he did not succeed therein, and found himself constrained to place all his Army in a square Battalion, as is seen at B; and he caused the Fronts of this Square to be bordered by a triple Rank of Chevaux-de-frise. In this Order, his Imperial Majesty



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endeavoured to gain the Wood, marked K, which would have facilitated the Retreat of the whole Army; for it would not have been prudent to have hazarded a Battle with an Army much stronger than his own, quite fresh, and which wanted for nothing. But the Cham of the *Tartars* perceived the Design of the *Russians*, and caused a Detachment of his Troops and a Body of *Polanders* to take Possession of the Wood; so that his Czarish Majesty was forced to encamp at the Place marked Z, where the *Pruth* forms a Kind of Semi-Circle, with which he covered the Back of his Army. He caused it to encamp in a Triangle, of which the River made the Base, and the two other Sides were bordered with *Chevaux-de-frise*, behind which he placed his Artillery. It was here, that the Czar, casting his Eyes on this Army, almost destitute of every Thing, so that the Officers had eat no Bread for four Days, could not forbear crying out, *Behold me here, at least, in the PRUTH. as bad a Condition as my Brother Charles at Pultowa!* In all Appearance he would have been in a much worse, but for the Ignorance, the Pusillanimity, and Weakness of the Grand Vizier; and without the Address, the Constancy and Activity of the Czarina *Catherine*.

THE *Tartars* and *Spabis* seeing their Enemy encamped and retrenched in this Manner, looked upon the whole *Russian* Army as their Prisoners, and advancing with terrible Cries of *Alba! Alba!* they attacked the Entrenchment with Vigour, it is true, but were as vigorously repulsed even to the third Time. The

The great Danger of the Czar and all his Army, on the Banks of the PRUTH.

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The Attack lasted till Night, and then the *Turks* entrenched themselves in form of a Half-Moon, at the Point of the saliant Angle of the *Russian* Camp: The next Morning the small Artillery of the *Turks*, consisting in 200 Field Pieces, placed at F and G, began to fire upon the Entrenchment of the *Russians*, waiting for their larger Artillery, which were 300 Pieces of Cannon, the heaviest of which could hardly be drawn by six and thirty Beasts. The *Russians* saw all these Preparations from their Camp; and this Artillery killed them Abundance of Men without ceasing. The first Attack of the *Ottomans* might have decided all; for if they succeeded, as there was all the Reason in the World to fear, they would not only become Masters of the *Russian* Army, but even of the Empire. The Czar must have fallen into the Hands of Infidels, with his Consort and all his Generals; and God knows how the proud *Achmet* might have used this Monarch, and what Tribute he might have imposed upon him!

*From which
they are extri-
cated by the
Advice and
Conduct of
CATHARINE.*

THE Czarina *Catbarine* seeing the Consternation the whole Army was in, made use of the Power she had over the Mind of the Czar, to put a Stop to the dangerous Effects which his undaunted Courage might at this Time have produced: She entered into his Tent, marked R, and there throwing herself at his Feet with Tears in her Eyes, beseech'd him to consider what might be the dreadful Consequences of this Day: It was glorious, she said, to vanquish, but not less so to yield, when reduced to the Condition in which they then found themselves. Behold, continued she,

she, your distress'd Army, view the fainting Soldiers, who can hardly support their Arms! Their Courage has left them with their Strength, for want of the most common Necessaries: To lead them on to the Enemy would be to expose them to certain Ruin; and if the Infidels should force this feeble Intrenchment, what would become of you? What would become of me? Either I must lose you for ever, or see you a Slave to an insolent Victor, and you must see me the Captive of the Grand Signior——At these Words, shedding a Torrent of Tears, she gave the Czar Time to reflect on the horrid Ideas she had rais'd in his Mind; but his natural Vivacity would not permit him to dwell long upon them. What then, answered he, is to be done? Yield to a superior Force, reply'd she, and endeavour to make an honourable Capitulation: Ask the Advice of your Generals, and all those to whom your Glory and your Empire are dear, will counsel you no otherwise.

THE Czar assembled his Council, who were much divided in their Opinions; the greatest Part, supposing the first Fire of the *Turks* was greatly abated, were of Opinion that a Sally ought to be made, and that they should fall upon their Intrenchments Sword in Hand; but the Vice-Chancellor *Schafiroff*, to whom the Czarina had given it in Charge to support the Advice which she herself had given the Czar, represented, that such a Step was a Sign of Despair, and not to be taken but in the last Extremity, and that his Advice was, to propose a Suspension of Arms to the Grand

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Vizier, during which they might treat of a Peace, or capitulate. The Czarina, who had heard all that was said, then appeared in the Council, and strenuously supported what had been advanced by *Schafiroff*, adding, that she would willingly sacrifice all her Jewels to dazzle the Eyes of the covetous Vizier, and his *Kiaia*.

THE Presence and Advice of this Princess determined the Council, who were now all of Opinion, that the Way of Negotiation should be essay'd, and the Czar himself came into it.

THE TURKS and *Tartars* were disposed to assail the weak Intrenchments of the *Russians*, and had already taken their Posts, when they perceived the latter had hung out a white Flag, and saw, at the same Time, an Officer, preceded by a Trumpet, come out of their Camp, who made his way to the Place where the Vizier's Tent was: Nobody opposed his Passage; for there are no People in the World sooner disarmed by Submission than the *Turks*.

As soon as the Grand Vizier heard of the Approach of these Messengers, he ordered them to be carried into the Tent of his *Kiaia*, to make the Propositions they were charged with: This was what the Czarina *Catharine* foresaw; and the Officer, whom she had rightly instructed in what he was to do, acquitted himself perfectly well of his Commission. After having assured the *Turk* of the high Esteem his Czarish Majesty had for him, he told him he was ordered, as a Proof of it, to make him a small Present, which he begg'd

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begg'd he would accept: In saying this, he put a Bag into his Hands, which he had brought with him, and in which were ten thousand Ducats; telling him, at the same Time, that his Master should not stop there, but would yet give him more considerable Testimonies of his Regard for him; and besought him, on his Part, to dispose the Grand Vizier to listen to the Deputies whom he had a Design to send to him.

THE KIAIA, charm'd with the Compliment of the *Russian* Officer, and still more with the Present he had just received from him, assured him he would go directly, and talk with the Vizier. This he did, accordingly, and told him, that the *Alcoran* did not allow of refusing Peace to an Enemy, who humbled himself; and that he ought to hearken to his Requests. He represented to him next the Despair of the *Russians*, as a Circumstance that might prove fatal to him, and deprive him of all the Advantages he might obtain by a Treaty. There needed not much more, to bring a Man to listen to Reason, who was so pacifick in his Inclination as the Vizier: So the *Russian* Officer was ordered to come into the Pavillon, where he told the Vizier, that he had Orders from his Imperial Czarish Majesty, his Master, to assure him, that he never had any Intention to break with the *Sublime Porte*, or enter into a War with her; that he had only armed in his own Defence, and since Heaven had declared itself for the *Ottoman* Arms, he desired a Suspension, in order to treat of a Peace. The Grand Vizier at first received this Messenger with Haughti-

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ness enough; but as the *Kiaia* had satisfy'd his religious Scruples before, a large Casket of Jewels, and Gold to a considerable Value, which the *Russian* Officer begg'd him to accept in the Name of the Czar, disarmed him in a great Measure of his Pride also, and made him willing to grant the Suspension required.

THE RUSSIAN Officer immediately returned to the Camp with this good News; and the Suspension was no sooner published in the *Ottoman* Army, but the *Turks* brought all Kinds of Refreshment to the *Russians*, whose Camp in an Instant became like a Fair abounding in every Thing; their Enemies likewise giving them the tender Name of *Cardatzes* or *Brothers*.

THE CZAR deputed five Plenipotentiaries to the Grand Vizier, at the Head of whom were Baron *Schafiroff* and young Count *Czeremetoff*, who going into the Tent of this Minister, spoke to him in Terms so submissive and so respectful, as shewed they very well knew the Foible of *Baltagi Mahomet*; nevertheless, in the Beginning he imposed pretty hard Terms upon this Army of Prisoners, drove thereto by General *Poniatowski*, the faithful Adherent of King *Stanislaus*, and the King of *Sweden*, and who, since that, entered so far into the good Graces of King *Augustus*, as to be made by him Great Treasurer of *Lithuania*. This *Polander* forgot nothing that he thought might prevail upon the Vizier not to listen to any Propositions from the Czar; and writing a Letter soon after to King *Stanislaus*,

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niflaus, gives him the following Account of this Negotiation.

“ CHANCELLOR SCHAFIROFF came to the Vizier, and with the most submissive Harangue, and the most flattering Propositions, immediately found a Way to make him forget all the fine Promises he had often made me of never concluding any Treaty without my Advice; for instead of imposing on the Czar Conditions as advantageous for the *Porte* as for us, (and he might have imposed what he pleased) he contented himself with demanding for the *Porte*, *Azoph*, the Demolition of *Taiganrog*, *Samara*, and *Kamenki*, (or *Caminieck*) with the large Artillery of the *Russian* Camp, and the Re-establishment of the *Zaporogian Cossacks* in their ancient Privileges; and for *Poland*, that the Czar should withdraw his Troops from thence, and meddle no more in the Affairs of that Kingdom. That, moreover, he should deliver to the *Sublime Porte* the Rebel *Cantemir*, with one *Sava*, a *Ragusan* by Extraction; and that he should pay an Year's Revenue of *Moldavia* for the Damages he had done there.

THE greatest Part of the Bashaws, and other Officers of my Acquaintance, were surprized, and thought, as I did, that he would have required the Czar to yield himself Prisoner of War, with all his principal Officers, as I had advised. As it was known, that he had at first shewn much Deference to my Advice, they pray'd me to press the Vizier to keep that Prince, at least, till he had executed the Treaty they were about to make with him. *Schafiroff* having taken the Demands

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in Writing, and being gone with them to the Czar, I took that Occasion to make fresh Remonstrances thereon to the Vizier, and also with regard to the King of *Sweden*, whom he seemed to have very much neglected, contrary to the Promises he had made, and in spite of the Condition the Czar was in, which would not permit him to refuse any Thing. He promised me much, but forgot all he promised at the Return of *Schafiroff*, who even knew how to make him desist from his Demands with respect to the Artillery of the Camp, to *Moldavia*, *Cantemir*, and *Sava*; he demanded only for the King of *Sweden*, that the Czar should not directly or indirectly oppose his Passage, which being agreed to, and the Treaty made, it was signed upon this Footing. This Conduct being an authentick Proof of the ill Intentions, or rather of the Folly of the Vizier, I said to him, in the Presence of several Persons, who were in his Pavillon, all that Reason and my own Resentment could dictate upon so extraordinary a Procedure. Upon which, not knowing what to answer, he sent me to his *Kiaia*, that we might consult together on what more could be done for his Majesty; but this last gave me no more Reason to be satisfy'd with him, than the other. After having delivered to him my Sentiments on a Treaty so much below what might have been expected from the Advantages they had over the Czar, I endeavoured to raise in him a Diffidence, and some Uneasiness, touching the Execution of this Treaty at least, if they did not keep
that

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that Prince Prisoner, as I had before proposed."

ALL the Instances of this able Minister, and even the Presence of the King of Sweden himself, who came into the Vizier's Tent to endeavour to dissuade him from concluding the Treaty, could not hinder him from going on with it, and yet farther. The *Alcoran*, he said, *commanded him to pardon an Enemy, who had humbled himself, and asked Favour*: Besides which, *it did not allow of making War or Peace for Christians*. The considerable Presents he had received from the Czarina made him favourable to the *Russians*, and were sufficient to render the pious Vizier unshaken in his Resolution. Thus the Czar was released upon Promise of surrendering *Azaph*, demolishing *Taiganrog*, *Camienieck* and *Samara*; of leaving the *Cossacks* in Repose, and of not opposing, directly or indirectly, the Return of the King of Sweden into his own Dominions. On these Terms the Vizier not only permitted him to retire with Safety, but even gave his Army an Escort of some thousand *Spabis* to preserve it from the Insults of the *Tartars* and *Polanders* of the King of Sweden's Party, who were not well pleased with the Treaty.

The Turks make Peace with Russia

THE CZARINA had all the Glory of this delicate Negotiation; and it may with Justice be said, that she preserved the Life, or at least, the Liberty of the Czar her Husband, and indeed the whole *Russian* Empire, which would, without her Care, have become a Prey to the *Tartars*, the *Cossacks*, *Poles* and *Swedes*. PETER, naturally of a grateful Temper, from this Moment conceived a

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Tenderness for this worthy Spouse, that nothing could diminish to the End of his Days. And after the Peace of *Pruth*, that Monarch never resolved on any important Enterprize without first consulting this prudent Princess; and from that Time, he succeeded in every Thing that depended on himself, and the Court of *Petersburgh* appeared in quite a new Light.

BUT it fared otherwise with the avaricious and pusillanimous Vizier, who, pressed by the *Sultan's* Orders, at length took the Rout of *Adrianople*; but made only very short Marches, in hopes the Keys of *Azoph* would arrive before he should be obliged to send his Troops into Quarters: In the mean time the *Sultan* had received an Account of all that passed upon the *Pruth*, and judged very rightly, that the Vizier had not done his Duty. This Minister had sent his *Kiaia* before him to give a Relation of the Affair of *Pruth*, very different from what it was in Reality, and which was not at all satisfactory to the Grand Signior. One Day the Conversation having turned upon the King of *Sweden*, the *Kiaia* called that Prince a Madman, because he was willing to take the Czar after the Conclusion of the Peace, and offered, if the Vizier would let him have 20,000 Men, to bring him back again. The Grand Signior was put out of all Patience by this Discourse, to that Degree, that he caught up some Weapon that lay at hand, and heartily drubb'd the *Kiaia*, telling him, it was he and the Grand Vizier, who were Madmen, and not
the

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The King of Sweden. He then ordered him to be shut up in Prison.

THE Grand Vizier drawing near Constantinople, the Keys of Azoph at last arrived from the Czar: The Grand Signior, though very much provoked at all his Faults, sent a Caffian turned up with Sable, to be presented to him on the Road, as a Token of his Favour; but at the same Time gave the Aga of Janizaries Orders to arrest him, and offered the Vizirate to that Commander: Baltagi Mabomet, upon his Deposition, was sent to Mitidene, and soon after strangled.

For which
Grand Vizier
at his Retire
to CONSTANTINOPLE
deposed and
strangled.

THE Czar Peter, from his last unhappy Campaign, went to the Court of Saxony, where a Match was on foot for the Czarewicz: This Prince, of the most untoward Disposition that can be imagined, was then two and twenty Years of Age, and promised nothing that was good; however, he was the presumptive Heir to a powerful Empire. The Czar his Father was attacked, from Time to Time, with the Relicks of the Effects of a Poison that had been given him in his Youth, and it was to be feared, that these frequent Attacks, joined to the Fatigues of the War, and his constant Application to Affairs at Home, might take him off on a sudden; he therefore thought it advisable to be sure of Successors, and hoped, that a Princess of a sweet Humour and well educated might easily correct the brutish Temper of his Son. The Queen of Poland, one of the most virtuous and most accomplish'd Princesses of her Time, was desired to make choice of a Bride for the Czarewicz, and had cast her Eyes upon

upon the Princess *Charlotta-Christiana-Sophia*, second Daughter of *Lewis Rodolphus*, Prince of *Wolfenbuttel*, and Sister to the Empress of *Germany*: This Princess, who was then in the eighteenth Year of her Age, was all Virtue and Sweetness, and had need of all the Compassion she afterwards found in the Czarina *Catbarine*, to enable her to resist the Despair, that the Debaucheries, the Extravagance, and the ill Treatment of her Husband, must otherwise have thrown her into. The Czarina easily perceived, that she should draw upon her the Hatred of the Prince by endeavouring to comfort his Wife; but that did not prevent her taking every Occasion to soften the Embitterments of a Life, that might have proved the Happiness of all *Russia*: But Heaven had ordained it otherwise: *Catbarine* alone was to be the Delight of this new Court, and to have the Glory of polishing it.

CATHARINE
goes with the
CZAR to RIGA,
the Province
she was born
in.

THE CZAR, after the Marriage of his Son, was obliged to go into *Poland* and *Livonia*; the Czarina constantly accompany'd him, and partook of the magnificent Reception that was given him at *Riga*. What Satisfaction was it to her to see herself reigning in a Province, where she had been born a Subject of a foreign Prince! For the King of *Sweden's* Father, *Charles XI.* had made the Conquest of *Livonia*, which Province before depended on *Poland*.

THE Czarina *Catbarine* let slip no Opportunity of obtaining from the Czar all reasonable Favours for this important Province, where he might have ruled as a Conqueror,
that

What is, according to a barbarous Custom, without any regard to the Laws of the Country.

AFTER the Return of *Peter* in the Year 1711, to *Petersburgh*, his Marriage with *Catharine* was publickly solemnized in that City, altho' it had been privately declared before, at his setting out for *Moldavia*, when he summoned the Empress Dowager his Sister, the Princess *Natalia*, and two other half Sisters, to *Moscow*, to whom he acknowledged her as his Wife, and desired they might pay her all the Respect due to her Quality; and that, if any Accident should happen to him during the Campaign, she might be allowed the same Rank, Privileges and Revenues, as were usual to the other Dowagers. An Account of the Ceremony of this Marriage, which his Majesty called his *Old Wedding*, I have related in the second Volume of my Life of the Emperor *PETER*; as well as of the new Order of *St. Catharine*, instituted in Honour of this Princess, in the Year 1714, to perpetuate the Memory of her *Love* and *Fidelity* to his Majesty, in his distressful Condition on the Banks of the *Pruth*; which he gave her Power to bestow on such of her own Sex, as she should think proper.

CATHARINE from this Time always waited upon her Husband in all his Expeditions, went with him into *Pomerania* and *Denmark*, and afterwards accompany'd him in his Journey to *Holland*. She had heard so much said in Praise of this happy and delightful Country, that if the Love she bore her Husband, and the Fear of some Accident happening to him

Goes with him into POMERANIA and DENMARK.

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him in her Absence, had not engaged her to attend him in this long and painful Journey, she would have undertaken it to satisfy the Curiosity she had of seeing a Republick on which she had heard so many and so just Encomiums.

And to Holland, where she waits his Return from France.

AT AMSTERDAM and the *Hague* all imaginable Honours were paid her, and she gained the Esteem and Veneration of all who approach'd her, by her engaging and sweet Behaviour, more republican than could be well expected from a Princess who was thoroughly acquainted with all the Rights of despotick Power. In this Journey she was brought to Bed of a Son, who died a few Days after, and was interr'd at *Wesel*.

THE CZAR having resolved to go to *France*, thought it not proper to take his Spouse with him to a Court, where he knew the Ceremonials would be a great Embarrassment, and no way agreeable to her; this Princess was therefore obliged to take leave of him, with a Concern that may be better imagined than expressed, and waited for him at *Amsterdam*, where she formed a little Court, in the Year 1717.

Soon after the Return of their Czarish Majesties to *Petersburgh*, the Process was begun against the Czarewitz, who had been brought back from *Italy*, whither he had retired under the Protection of the Emperor *Charles VI*. But how many Endeavours were used by the Czarina, to appease the Father so justly incensed against his disobedient Son, a Traitor, who was convicted of having conspired against his Life, that he might place himself in his Throne!

Throne! The frequent Pardons he received, were very much owing to her Intreaties; and he would, at least, have preserved his Life, if the Weakness of his own Imagination had not brought Death upon him, thro' the Fear of dying. There have been some, indeed, unjust enough to report, that he received his Fate from the Hands of his Father himself; and others have given out, that the Czarina caused him to be poisoned. But both these Stories are very improbable, considering the Clemency of *Peter*, who had so often pardoned a Sister, but of the half Blood, who had frequently conspired against his Life, and for whom he could not be supposed to have so much natural Affection, as he had shewn on many Occasions for this rebellious Son: Nor is it more likely, that the Czarina *Catherine* should do a Thing so inconsistent with the whole Tenor of her Actions, and so contrary to that compassionate and virtuous Disposition she always had shewn.

THIS Princess was then with Child, and had already two Daughters and a Son. The Czarowitz *Alexis* left one Prince and a Princess, to whom the Czarina proved a Mother, taking the greatest Care of their Education: Nevertheless, as a Throne had not less Charms for her than it commonly has with most People, it appeared by an Ordinance published by the Czar some Time after, concerning the Succession, that she had prevailed upon him to leave the Crown to her, when Death had taken away her Son *Peter Petrowitz*, who had been declared Great Prince in the Life Time of his elder Brother *Alexis Petrowitz*, excluded

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ded from the Succession to the Throne, for his scandalous Behaviour.

CATHARINE could not but observe, that there was a Party of the Boyars, always attached to the ancient Customs and Manners of the *Russians*, who would not fail of taking the first Opportunity that offered, to declare against her and her Daughters, in favour of the Son of the late Czarewitz; therefore it was her Business to strengthen her own Party by a Support from abroad, and at this Time an Occasion presented itself very much to this Purpose.

THE Princess *Ulrica* had succeeded to the Throne of *Sweden*, on the Death of her Brother *Charles XII.* of glorious Memory: By her Accession, the Sovereignty and hereditary Succession was abolish'd in *Sweden*, which was farther confirmed by the extraordinary Event of the Resignation which that Princess made of the Crown to the hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, her Husband. All these new Dispositions set at a Distance, or rather excluded from the Throne, the Duke of *Holstein*, Son of the Queen *Ulrica's* elder Sister, who had been brought up by the late King his Uncle, with the Hopes of succeeding him: This Prince was at that Time in *Silesia*, in a Condition deplorable enough; for besides the Loss of these great Hopes, the King of *Denmark* had just taken from him the Duchy of *Sleswick*, under Pretence that, contrary to his Engagements, he had favoured the Enterprizes of the *Swedes* in *Holstein*. The Duke, on this, was advised to have Recourse to the Protection of the Czar, as the only Power that
could

could support his Pretensions upon *Sweden*; and he found that Monarch disposed to grant what he asked, and more especially a powerful Protectress in the Czarina, who from that Time conceived the Design of marrying him to the Princess her eldest Daughter; from which Alliance she imagined she might have the Satisfaction to see her wear the Crown of *Sweden*. It may be easily supposed, how much the Ministers of *Holstein* endeavoured to flatter this Hope of the Czarina, who, they believed, would greatly assist them in procuring the Favour of the Czar to their Master. From this Moment the Duke of *Holstein* regarded the Czarina as his Mother, and she treated him as a Son, whom she tenderly cherished, and from whom she kept no Secrets. Being absolute Mistress of the Will of the Czar, she found no Difficulty in determining him to consent to the Match she had projected; but this in the Conclusion did not answer the Hopes his Czarish Majesty had of finding an Opportunity to re-establish that Prince in his Dominions. It may even be said, that this Alliance of the Interests of the Duke of *Holstein* with those of the Princess Royal, was the first Occasion of a Coolness between the Czar and the King of *Denmark*, his Ally: For from that Time the Court of *Russia* made several Propositions to that of *Copenhagen*, which tended to a Rupture; such were those of the free Passage of the *Sound*, and of the Restitution of the Duchy of *Sleswick* to the Duke of *Holstein*; and there was all the Appearance imaginable, if we may judge by the Preparations that were made in

CATHARINE
proves a great
Friend to the
Duke of HOL-
STEIN.

in *Russia*, and by the Czar's testamentary Dispositions, that a Resolution had been taken to attack *Denmark*, if the King of *Great Britain* had not warded off the Blow, by sending a Fleet into the *Baltick Sea*. It was the Czarina *Catharine*, who gave the first Motion to these Resolutions in favour of the Duke of *Holstein*, whose Interests she maintained so powerfully, that she engaged the Czar strongly to support the Demand that Prince made to the States of *Sweden*, to be allowed the Title of *Royal Highness*, which he looked upon as a tacit Acknowledgment of his being the presumptive Heir to the Crown; for in Quality of Duke of *Holstein* he could not pretend to that distinguished Title.

THE States of *Sweden* being assembled in the Year 1723, the Czar, who had made Peace with that Kingdom two Years before, sent a Minister to *Stockholm* to lay before that Assembly the Reasons upon which he founded his Pretensions to the Title of Emperor of all the *Russias*, which his Subjects had given him in a solemn Manner, and which some foreign Powers had already recognized. The Duke of *Holstein* likewise sent Baron *Bassewitz* to solicit the States assembled to allow him the Title of *Royal Highness*: This Demand was very solemnly made, and the *Russian* Minister supported with all his Power, the Instances of *M. Bassewitz*; the Business was referr'd to a secret Committee, who had not much Trouble to penetrate into the Design of this Demand being made with so much Earnestness. The King and Queen of *Sweden* declared loudly, that they would not approve

approve of this Title, and, according to all Appearances, the Solicitation had failed, if the Czarina had not proposed to the Czar the Expedient of declaring, that he would acknowledge the Duke of *Holstein* for his Son-in-law.

THAT Monarch, who entered into all the Views of the Empress *Catharine* for the Establishment of her Family, and who really hoped for great Advantages for his Subjects by the Project formed for placing the Duke of *Holstein* on the Throne of *Sweden*, approved the Proposition made him by his Consort, and, after having declared to the Duke of *Holstein*, that he would give him his eldest Daughter in Marriage, he sent Orders to his Minister at *Stockholm*, never to speak of that Prince without giving him the Title of his Imperial Czarish Majesty's Son-in-law.

THIS Declaration embarrassed the secret Committee more than any Thing else, whose Report decided nothing in the House of Lords. The Duke of *Holstein* had a great Number of Partizans in that House, and they gave it for their Opinion, that the Advice of the Senate ought to be asked, who were required to come in a Body to consult with the secret Committee, fearing what might be the Consequences of refusing this Demand of the Son-in-law of a formidable Neighbour, who interested himself so much in it. The Conference between the Senate and the secret Committee lasted till eight o' the Clock in the Evening, and the next Day the Senate communicated their Opinion to the States; which contained in Substance, that after ha-

ving maturely weighed the Reasons for and against the Affair under their Consideration, and admired the indefatigable Zeal of the Committee, they could not but agree with them, that, without any Prejudice to the Dignity or Power of their *Swedish* Majesties, they might allow the Duke of *Holstein* the Title he required; and that they thought it might contribute to the Honour, the Welfare and Safety of the Kingdom.

UPON this Advice it was unanimously resolved to allow the Title of *Royal Highness* to the Duke of *Holstein*, and that of *Emperor* to the Czar: And thus the Success of this Affair, which might be of great Importance in its Consequences, was the Fruit of the Zeal and good Advice of the Empress *Catherine*.

HER Attention and her Cares did not stop here, for the Advantages that she could procure to her Family, to whom she was truly a Mother: Nor did she in her high Estate forget to whom she was obliged for the first Steps to her good Fortune; but grateful as she was, among the rest of her Virtues, she called near her Person the Family of *M. Gluck*, for whom she made a very handsome Provision. But as it was to Prince *Menzikoff* more than any one else, that she owed her Elevation, she always preserved an Acknowledgment so sincere for that Prince, that he often found the good Effects of; for having been sometimes involved in great Difficulties concerning the Affairs of the Finances, when the Emperor, from Time to Time, came

*Her Gratitude
to her first Be-
nefactor.*

came to inquire into them, and punish any Maleverfations he found there, the Empreſs would always employ her Credit to bring him off: It is true, it coſt that Prince ſometimes a Fine, and that a conſiderable one; but ſhe ſtill reſtored him to the Eſteem and Confidence of his Maſter. Several other great Men of the Empire, on diverſe Occaſions, found the good Effects of her Credit and generous Protection; and it was very rarely that ſhe employed her Recommendation unprofitably to the Emperor her Huſband. Baron *Schafiroff* eſpecially owed to her the Preſervation of his Life, and afterwards the Re-eſta- bliſhment of a Part of his Titles and Honours.

*Saves the Life
of Baron
SCHAFIROFF.*

THIS Miniſter had a great Share in the Confidence of his Maſter, which he had abuſed on ſome Occaſions; and puff'd up with the Favour of the Emperor, had dared to inſult ſome of the Boyars in full Senate; ſo that at length, like *Licinius*, the Roman Legislator, who was puniſh'd the firſt by a Law, which he had himſelf preferr'd, *Schafiroff* was near being loſt, for having contravened the Prohibition he himſelf had ſigned, againſt concealing any Part of the Effects of Prince *Gagarin*, of which he ſecreted at leaſt two hundred thouſand Ducats. The Czar, juſtly irritated at theſe Crimes, abandoned his Favourite to the Rigour of the Laws, who was firſt put to the Queſtion, and his Judges having found him guilty, they condemn'd him to loſe his Head, his Honours and Eſtate.

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THE Czarina gave a free Course to the Resentment of her Husband, and the Proceedings of the Judges; but when Sentence was pronounced, judging it then a Time for Mercy to take its Turn, she spoke in favour of the Criminal, put the Emperor in Mind of his past Services, and did not disdain to divide with him the Glory of the Success of the Negotiation on the Banks of the *Pruth*. In short, she interested herself so effectually for this unfortunate Minister, that she saved him, though not till he was put under the most terrible Apprehensions for his Life: He was brought to the Scaffold to teach Favourites, that they ought not to flatter themselves, that their Master's Favour will be a Safe-guard for their Crimes, or that the Emperor will refuse Justice to the Complaints of his People, when they shall be tyrannized over; but at the Instant that he laid his Head down on the Block, a Herald placed there for the Purpose, cried out, *Pardon* from the Emperor: So he was led from the Scaffold, and afterwards banished into *Siberia*, which was a Satisfaction due to Justice and to the Senate; but he continued no longer in Exile than to convince the Publick, that his Crimes were not unpunished, and was recalled by the Czarina, when she came to the Empire, and had a considerable Employment given him in the Office of Trade at *Arch-Angel*.

WE have now seen a short Account of this Princess's Conduct with regard to the Emperor her Husband; to which may be added, that the Court of *Russia* was very much

much indebted to her for the Establishment of their Customs and Manners in Conformity with other Nations. These Alterations, it is true, were begun by the Czar; but who is ignorant of the Force of Example, especially among the Fair Sex! If the Court of *Petersburgh* had remained without That of the Empress *Catharine*, it is very certain, that whatever Ordinances had been published by the Czar, we had not seen both Sexes there so polished, as they are at present. A *Russian* Nobleman was formerly distinguished among Foreigners by the Grossness of his Manners; whereas at present the *Russians* dispute with all other Nations for Politeness. The Czar had changed the Dress of the Ladies, by substituting the *English* Modes in the Place of their long Robes, Sattins and Damasks in the Place of their Sables and Zobelins, and Muslin or Cambrick Head Cloaths in the Room of their Fur Caps. By an Order of the Czar, the Women were no longer shut up in separate Apartments, but frequented Company, and were to be found at nuptial, and other extraordinary Feasts. The Empress likewise engaged him to set up Assemblies; such as are held in most polite Countries, since nothing would contribute more to render the Nobility accessible and communicative: But as this agreeable Amusement was very little understood in *Russia*, the Czar was obliged to publish an Ordinance to explain the Meaning and settle the Rules of it.

Contributes much by her Example and otherwise to polish the RUSSIANS.

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AT the same Time his Imperial Czarish Majesty did not forget the Recompence, that he had design'd for his dearly beloved Consort, and which he thought her important Services deserved. He had bury'd the great Prince *Peter Petrowitz*, as is before observed, and according to the ancient Laws of hereditary Succession, the Crown ought to have devolved upon his Grandson *Peter Alexowitz*: This young Prince promised much, but was of a weakly Constitution; the ordinary Revolutions that happen during Minorities, made the Emperor fear, that he might fall into bad Hands, capable of overturning all the great Works that he had undertaken, and carried on with such prodigious Labour and great Success; this Fear came to the Assistance of that strong Inclination he had to leave the Imperial Sceptre to his deserving Spouse; for which Reason he published an Ordinance, obliging all his Subjects to take an Oath, that they would acknowledge the Successor he should be pleased hereafter to name, and this was very readily complied with by all Degrees of Men.

THIS Affair was concerted with the Empress, from which Time her Husband never concealed from her any of the Projects he was forming, nor the Means which he judged most convenient to put them in Execution: The chief of these were concerning *Sweden* and *Denmark*; as to the first, when he consented to give the Princess his Daughter to the Duke of *Holstein*, he resolved to make the best he could of his Pretensions to the Crown

Crown of *Sweden*; and as to the other, having been irritated against the King of *Denmark*, as well on Account of what had passed relating to the intended Descent on *Schonen*, and of the Alliance he had made with the King of *Great Britain*, as for his having refused to recognize his Title of *Emperor*, which was done by *Sweden*, he formed the Design of obliging him to restore the Duchy of *Sleswick* to the Duke of *Holstein*, to acknowledge his Title of Emperor, and to obtain the Freedom of the *Sound* for all *Russian* Ships. These two Projects were of great Consequence, and could not but interest other Nations, besides the *Swedes* and *Danes*, in the Event of them. The Czar trusted the Secret to his Spouse, and laid open to her all the Methods he intended to use to make them successful: But the present Conjuncture was not favourable to him; and the Affairs of *Persia* called him first to the Borders of the *Caspian* Sea, where he extended the Bounds of his Empire, by an easy Conquest of several Provinces. The Czarina was also in this Expedition, partaking all the Fatigues, and Part of the Dangers with her Husband.

*Accompanies
the Czar in
his Expedition
to PERSIA.*

PETER, on his Return to his Capital, full of the Design of rewarding the Virtues and high Deserts of his beloved Consort, published an Ordinance for her Coronation, wherein he drew many Examples from the *Greek* History of the Custom of crowning the Empresses, and laid down the Reasons which he had for doing the same Honour to the Czarina. He himself invited all the foreign Ministers

*Is crowned
Empress at
Moscow.*

to follow him to *Moscow*, where this august Ceremony was performed with all the Splendor and Magnificence that can be imagined, on the 18th of *May 1724*.

THE next Day the Empress received the Compliments of all the Court, being seated under a rich Canopy in the great Hall, and allowed every one to kiss her Hand, who was desirous of that Honour: And the Emperor on this Occasion made several considerable Promotions of Generals and other Officers; and conferred the Order of *St. Andrew* on some Persons of Distinction.

THE Emperor had had a great Fit of Sickness before he went to *Moscow* to perform this Ceremony; and tho' at his Return to *Petersburgh*, he seem'd somewhat better, and intirely satisfied with what he had done, yet it cannot be said, that during the rest of the Year he had his Health so perfectly as before; nor did he take any Pains to re-establish it, delivering himself up wholly to the fatiguing Affairs of Government. And at length having on the Day of Epiphany, in the Year 1725, assisted at the Ceremony of blessing the Waters, he was attacked by a violent Rheum, which proved his last Illness.

*The Ceremony
of blessing the
Waters.*

THIS Ceremony of blessing the Waters, among the *Russians*, is one of the most sacred and most solemn of any they observe, and is celebrated with a great deal of Pomp and Magnificence; especially at the Place where the Court is resident. It begins in the Morning by the Performance of Divine Service, during which Time the Regiments of Guards assemble

assemble on the River, where they form a square Battalion, in the Centre of which a Hole is made in the Ice; over this Opening a magnificent Pavillon is erected, and after Service all the Clergy come thither in Procession, the Bells throughout the whole City ringing at the same Time. Four Priests with Torches in their Hands precede the Cross-Bearer, who is accompanied by two Priests, after whom come the Body of the Clergy, cloathed in rich Vestments; the dignify'd Clergy enter into the Pavillon, where they perform high Mass, and the Arch-bishop blesses the Water, which Function is performed under the Discharge of all the Artillery, answered to by many Salvo's of the Musketeers. During these Testimonies of the publick Joy, all the Children are baptized, who are brought thither; and as soon as the Clergy are retired, the Populace prefs forward to approach the Hole, and take Water out of it, to which they attribute many Virtues. It is easy to perceive from whence this religious Ceremony is derived: And as there is nothing bad in it, the Czar, so far from putting it among the Usages that he abolished, was very punctual himself in the Performance of it, when he was either at *Moscow* or *Petersburgh*, and appeared with all his Family saluting the Clergy by Turns.

It was after he had assisted at this Solemnity, that the pious Monarch was seized with a Rheum, which was soon after attended by a Fever, a violent Cholick, and a Retention of Urine: This Complication of Diseases made

*The Emperor
PETER's last
Illness.*

made his Life immediately despaired of; but the Hero saw the Approach of the fatal Hour with as much Firmness and Resolution, as he had always shewn in every other Circumstance of his Life, and with a Composure of Mind that is never to be found, but in Persons possessed of the greatest Virtues. He gave Orders himself about every Thing; so that it may be said, that after having employed all his Life for the Happiness of his People, he sacrificed even his last Moments to it, being willing to extend his Paternal Care to the very Grave.

DURING the Time that this good Father, this great and wise Emperor, kept his Bed, he caused the Empress, his Children, the Duke of *Holstein*, and the Ministers, to come into his Chamber, and declared to them his last Will, regulating even the Mourning to be worn at his Death, which was to be but for three Months. He declared, that he had chosen the Empress his Wife for his Successor, and that he had intrusted to her all the Designs he had projected, and the Means of executing them. At length he expired with great Resignation and Tranquillity, on the 28th of *January* 1725, at five o' the Clock in the Morning, at which Time the Empress, who had not left him a Moment, praying by him, with a loud Voice pronounced these Words: *Lord, open thy Paradise to receive this blessed Soul.*

His Death.

The End of the First Book.

T H E



THE
HISTORY
OF
RUSSIA,

To the End of the REIGN of the
Empress CATHARINE.

BOOK II.

CONTENTS.

*The Beginning of the Empress CATHARINE's
Reign; her first Cares for her People; a Re-
lation of the Proceedings on the unhappy Tu-
mult at Thorn; the Marriage of the Duke
of Holstein, and the Occasion and Progress
of the Revolution in Persia.*



IMMEDIATELY, upon the melan-
choly Occasion of the Emperor
Peter's Death, the Senate, the Sy-
nod, and the Generality, assem-
bled, and in Consequence of the last Orders
of their ever-glorious Monarch, declared *Ca-
tharine Alexowna* Empress of all *Russia*. About
eight

*The Beginning
of the Empress
CATHARINE's
Reign.*

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eight o' the Clock they repaired to the Palace, where Prince *Menzikoff* introducing them to their new Sovereign, they prostrated themselves at her Feet, swore Fidelity to her, and presented her with the Act of their Submission in Writing. Her Majesty received them very graciously, and assured them, that *she would be a Mother to her Country, as the Emperor had been a Father to it.*

THE Grief is not to be expressed, that seized on all Degrees of People, on the News of the Emperor's Death; even the Soldiers were drowned in Tears, and were not to be comforted, till they learned that the Empress *Catharine* was declared Sovereign of all the *Russias*: They then came in Crowds about the Palace, to take the Oaths to her, crying out, *If our Father is dead, our Mother still lives!*

IN the Midst of these Acclamations, the Senate published the following Declaration.

The Declaration published by the Senate.

“ **B**E it known to all and every one, by
 “ these Presents, That it has pleased
 “ Almighty God to take to himself, out of
 “ this Vale of Tears, after a violent Sick-
 “ ness of twelve Days, the most magnani-
 “ mous, and most illustrious *PETER the*
 “ *Great*, Emperor of all *Russia*, Father of
 “ his Country, and our kind Lord, and that
 “ by a Declaration dated the 5th of *February*
 “ 1722, which was afterwards confirmed by
 “ the Oaths of all the States of the *Russian*
 “ Empire, his Majesty was impowered to
 “ name a Successor to the Throne; and that
 “ in the Year 1724, his Imperial Majesty
 “ was

“ was pleased to have his worthy Consort the
 “ Empress *Alexowna*, crowned, by Reason of
 “ her rare Merit, and the great Services she
 “ has done to the *Russian* Empire, as it ap-
 “ pears by the Patent of the 15th of *Novem-*
 “ *ber* 1724: For which Reasons it has been
 “ unanimously resolved by the Senate, the
 “ Clergy, and the Body of Generals, to or-
 “ der all the Subjects, as well Ecclesiastical
 “ as Military and Civil, of what Rank and
 “ Condition soever they be, to recognize her
 “ Majesty, the most magnanimous and most
 “ august Lady CATHARINE ALEXOWNA,
 “ Sovereign of all the *Russian* Empire, and
 “ to be faithful and trusty to her.”

THE Empress immediately dispatched Or-
 ders to the Governors of Provinces and the
 Generals, to secure the Fidelity of the Troops,
 and to the Grandees of the Kingdom, to re-
 pair to *Petersburgh*, to be present at the Pub-
 lication of the late Emperor's last Will. The
 following is the Form of the Oath, which
 was taken by all the *Russian* Officers, both Ci-
 vil and Military, and sent into all the Pro-
 vinces to be taken by the People; and to the
 Ministers in foreign Courts, that they might
 take it themselves, and administer it to those
Russians, who should be found in the States
 where they were.

“ **A**LTHOUGH I before took the Oath, *The Oath of*
 “ not only to the most serene and po- *Allegiance to*
 “ tent Monarch of all the *Russians*, *Peter the* *the Empress.*
 “ Great, of glorious Memory, but to the
 “ most serene and most potent great Lady,
 “ the Empress *Catharine Alexowna*; neverthe-
 “ less

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“ I do hereby confirm my Submission and Fidelity
 “ to the most serene and most potent great
 “ Lady, the Empress *Catharine Alexowna*, So-
 “ vereign of all the *Russias*, &c. according
 “ to the Regulation and Statute made by his
 “ Imperial Majesty, of glorious Memory.

“ THEREFORE I the underwritten, pro-
 “ mise before Almighty God, and swear
 “ upon his Holy Gospel, That I am willing
 “ and obliged to recognize her Majesty my
 “ lawful great Lady and Empress, and after
 “ her Death her Majesty's high Successors,
 “ who, according to the good Pleasure and
 “ sovereign Imperial Power which God has
 “ granted, shall be settled on the Throne of
 “ *Russia*, and deem'd worthy to fill it. That
 “ I will employ all spiritual Powers, my E-
 “ state, and even my Life, if it be necessary,
 “ for maintaining and defending the Rights
 “ and Prerogatives of her Majesty's high and
 “ sovereign Power and Authority, already sta-
 “ tuted, or that may be statuted hereafter.
 “ Lastly, That I will contribute my utmost
 “ on all Occasions for the Service of her Ma-
 “ jesty, and the Welfare of the Empire.
 “ The whole in such a Manner, that I may
 “ be answerable before God and his severe
 “ Judgment. So help me God, as well in
 “ Soul as in Body; and to bind my Oath, I
 “ kiss the Word of God, and the Cross of
 “ my Redeemer. *Amen.*”

THE Emperor PETER *the Great* left no
 Children by his first Wife; he had had several
 indeed by this repudiated Czarina *Ottokesa*
Federowna; but the Czarewitz *Alexis Petro-*
witz alone lived to Years of Maturity, and
 had

had by his Spouse, the Princess of *Wolfenbuttel*, two Children, who survived him and their Grandfather *PETER*, viz. the Imperial Princess *Natalia*, born on the 23d of *July* 1714, and a Son, who afterwards came to be Emperor by the Name of *Peter Alexewitz* II. born the 21st of *October* 1715. The Empress *Catharine* had had five Children, of whom the two Princes *Peter* and *Paul* died before the Emperor their Father, who left at his Death three Imperial Princesses; I. *Anne Petrowna*, born the 5th of *February* 1708, who was married to the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp* on the 1st of *June* 1725. II. *Elizabeth Petrowna*, who now most deservedly wears the Imperial Diadem of *Russia*, born the 10th of *March* 1713, and promised to his Highness the Bishop of *Lubeck*, who died on the 1st of *June* 1727, before he had wedded her. III. *Natalia Petrowna*, born the 20th of *August* 1718: This last Princess died while the Funeral Solemnities were preparing for the Emperor her Father, and was interred at the same Time with him; so that the Empress *Catharine* had only two Princesses left at the Time we are now speaking of.

THE first Care of her Imperial Majesty was to pay the last Duties to her Husband's Ashes with a Pomp becoming the greatest Monarch that *Russia*, or perhaps any other Country had ever known; and tho' there is no Court in *Europe*, where Splendor and Magnificence is carried to a greater Height on these solemn Occasions, than in that of *Russia*, yet it may be now said, that she surpassed herself in the Funeral Honours paid to her great *PETER*. The
Empress

*The Empress
she pays to her
deceased Hus-
band.*

Empress was not satisfied with this; but immediately set to work some of the most able Sculptors of *Italy*, and employed the most precious Kinds of Marble to erect a Mausoleum to this Hero, which might last, if possible, as long as the Remembrance of his great Actions, and preserve them to the most distant Ages.

ON the Emperor's Death, and the Empress's Accession to the Throne, was struck a Medal worthy the Ancients: On one Side was represented the Bust of the late Emperor with these Words; PETER THE GREAT, EMPEROR AND SOVEREIGN OF ALL RUSSIA, BORN MAY XXX, MDCLXXII. On the Reverse was the Empress sitting with the Crown on her Head, the Globe and Scepter by her Side on a Table, and before her were a Sphere, Sea-Charts, Plans, Mathematical Instruments, Arms, and a Caduceus; at Distances, in three different Places, were represented, in one an Edifice on the Sea-Coast with a Platform before it; in another a Ship and Gally at Sea; and in the third, the late Emperor in the Clouds, supported by Eternity, looking on the Empress, and shewing her with his Right Hand all the Treasures he had left her, with these Words; *Behold what I have left you.* In the Exergue, *Deceased 28 January 1725.*

SEVERAL of these Medals were struck in Gold, of the Weight of 50 Ducats, which her Imperial Majesty distributed among the foreign Ministers, and ordered to be presented to her own Ministers in foreign Courts, and to the greatest Part of the great Men of the

the Empire, as a Monument of her Gratitude towards the late Emperor, to whose Generosity she took a Pleasure to own she was indebted for that high Rank in which she was then placed.

AFTER having satisfied all that her Love and Acknowledgment demanded, this Princess turned her Thoughts on the Affairs within her Empire. There were some Arrears due to her Troops, which she caused immediately to be paid; and this intirely gained her the Affection of her Army. The *Cossacks*, who for some Time had been very uneasy, for having suffered so many Years for the Infidelity of their former Hettman *Mazzeppa*, and for the Loss of their Privileges, complained very loudly, and threatened the Court with a Revolt: It was to be feared, that they would take Advantage of the Beginning of a Woman's Reign to put their Design in Execution; but this prudent Princess sent General *Wiesbach* to them with Promises so strong, and so particular, of re-establishing them in the full Enjoyment of all their Privileges, and of giving them Chiefs and Officers of their own Nation, that they were brought to a just Observance of their Duty, and were contented to suffer several Forts to be erected in their Country along the *Pruth*, under the Pretence of stopping the Course of the *Tartars*; and these Forts were garnished with two hundred Pieces of Cannon.

*Quits the
COSSACKS in
the UKRAINE.*

BRIGADIER ROMANZOFF, whom PETER the Great had sent to *Constantinople* some Time before his Death, to confirm the last Treaties

made with the *Porte*, and agree to the Limits to be settled on the Side of *Persia*, having received the News of his Master's Death, and the Empress's Orders, knew how to give such an Idea of that Princess to the Minister of the Divan, that the Grand Vizier declared to him, on the Part of his Sublime Highness, that he would religiously observe the last Treaties concluded with the Emperor of *Russia*, and that in a very short Time the Commissioners should be sent away, to determine on the Spot the Affair of regulating the Limits.

ALTHOUGH Persons very incapable and altogether unworthy of so great an Employment are oftentimes raised to this first Post in the *Ottoman* Empire, such as we have an Example of in *Baltagi Mahomet*; yet that was not the Case at present; for the Prime Vizier at this Time was a Man of distinguished Merit; nevertheless, so great is the Force of Prejudice and Custom, that this first Minister could not readily conceive, how so vast an Empire should be willing to obey the Laws of a Woman; and especially as the late Emperor had left a Prince, his Grandson, who might have succeeded him. It was on his making this Doubt, that Brigadier *Romanzoff* took an Occasion to draw a Picture, to the Grand Vizier, so much to the Advantage of the Empress CATHARINE, that from that Instant the *Porte* conceived such an Esteem for her, as could not but influence that Court for the future in favour of the *Russians*, with respect to their Conquests on the Frontiers of *Persia*.

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Persia, where they did not dare to oppose the Progress of their Arms.

SOME Months before the Death of PETER ^{*The Tumult of*} ~~the~~ ^{THORN.} *Great*, Poland had presented Europe with a Spectacle truly horrible in the bloody Tragedy that had been acted at *Thorn*, which began in this Manner: Some insolent Scholars of the Jesuits had insulted many of the *Lutheran* Burghers of that City, because they had not taken off their Hats during one of the *Roman* Catholick Processions. This Violence, for it can be called no other in a * free City, where the *Lutheran* Religion predominates, was repulsed, which gave Rise to a Tumult, such as the Jesuits seemed for a long Time to have desired to bring about their Ends, which were to re-establish their Religion in that City. Who is ignorant of the Fury of an incensed Populace! It was impossible to check the Impetuosity of these, who threw themselves upon the College of the Jesuits, from whence proceeded the first Spark of this unhappy Flame. There were Blows given on both Sides; the Gates of the College were forced open, the House and Church plundered, and the Zeal of Religion assisting their Rage, it is not to be supposed, but that some of the Popish Images of their idolatrous Worship were a little ill treated.

* *Thorn is a free City, like Dantzick, and so was, subject to the Republick of Poland, like other Cities, since it only acknowledges the King as their Protector, and concurs at his Election by their Deputies.*

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS made vain Attempts upon this City; but his Successor, Charles Gustavus, took it in the Year 1655, and yielded it again in 1660, by the Treaty of Oliva, wherein all her Privileges were confirmed to her.

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THE reverend Fathers might have prevented a great deal of the Mischief that ensued, had they appeared more like Priests than Soldiers, by retiring to their Chambers, or punishing the Scholars who had insulted the Citizens, instead of presenting themselves at their Windows armed with Stones and Musquets. This Conduct irritated the Populace to that Degree, that they became deaf to the Voice of their Magistrates, and no longer knew any Superiors: Whatever Orders were given by those Magistrates, or the Commandant, nothing could stop their Fury, till they had satisfied their Revenge. The Authors of the Disorders, who were not the strongest Party, were the first to complain, and knew so well how to put a Gloss on their bad Cause, that the Tribunal erected at *Warsaw* to try Persons concerned in this rebellious Tumult, as it was called, pronounced a Sentence agreeable to the Genius and Views of the Jesuits, without permitting the City of *Tborn* to make the least Defence, which Sentence cost the chief Burgomaster *Rosner* his Life, a Man of 65, venerable both by his Years, and the Dignity of his Office, as well as by the Services he had done his King and Country; yet this good old Man died by the infamous Hands of the common Executioner, for not having stopt a Torrent that nothing could stop. Ten other Inhabitants had the same Fate; one of whom receiving the Sacrament a few Moments before his Death, declared, *That he had never set Foot within the Jesuits College during the whole Course of his Life, much less at the Time of the unhappy Tumult,*

*The barbarous
Executions
thereon.*

mult, though false Witnesses had sworn to the contrary. All the ten Persons executed, four of whom had their Right Hands cut off before their Heads, died good Protestants, and with great Resolution and Chearfulness. The Head's-man did his Business pretty dextrously with two Sabres, excepting on one of the unfortunate Sufferers, a Carpenter by Trade, whose Head was not taken off till the third Stroke, and he was one of the four that had lost their Hands.

AMONG the Persons condemned was one *Heyder*, a Burgher, who, to save his Life, had embraced the Popish Religion, and by so doing obtained his Pardon, which shewed, that the great Crime these poor People were guilty of, was being Protestants. The Jesuits and Friars had tried their utmost, both by Threats and Promises, to oblige the President *Rosner* to change his Religion; but he was immovable, and shewed all the Constancy of a truly Christian Martyr, crying to his Persecutors, *Content yourselves with my Body; but as for my Soul, that is my Saviour's.*

THE Jesuits, besides this, in full Satisfaction for the Damages done them, had twenty two thousand Florins given them, the City being obliged to pay them eight thousand in ready Money, and mortgage two Villages to them for the remaining fourteen thousand; and was moreover deprived of the greatest Part of her Privileges, which had been confirmed to her by the Treaty of *Oliva*, in the Year 1660.

ONE of the false Witnesses employed by the Jesuits against the People of *Thorn*, being asked by some of his Friends, How he could in Conscience swear so many innocent People out of their Lives, since he was not in Town during the Tumult? He made Answer, "That the *Lutherans*, and all other *Hereticks*, are looked upon by us *Catholicks*, as Men condemned to be burnt; and when we can contribute to bring any to the Flames, we believe with the Church, that it is doing a meritorious Work." And when he was told, that such a barbarous Proceeding as that was very much unbecoming Christians, he had nothing to say, but "that both he and the other Witnesses had been thoroughly instructed by the Jesuits; and that moreover the Excommunication which the Holy Father thundered every Year at *Rome* against all *Hereticks*, intirely satisfied their Consciences."

It is very remarkable, that one of the Commissioners appointed to put the Decree against the poor People in Execution, was very forward to hasten it, in hopes of recovering his Sight, which he had almost lost; the Jesuits having so far imposed upon his Credulity, as to give him a strong Opinion, that if he did this good Work to revenge the Injury done to the Mother of God, she would not fail to cause this Miracle to be wrought in his Favour: But the poor Man continued as blind as ever.

ALL the Protestant Princes of *Europe* highly resented this cruel Transaction at *Thorn*; and among the rest, the King of *Denmark*

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was so moved thereat, that as soon as he was informed of the horrid Decree of the Assessorial Tribunal, he wrote a Letter to the King of *Poland*, in hopes of preventing its Execution; wherein he says, "Your Majesty will undoubtedly call to Mind the several Representations, which we made to you and the Republick in a cordial, brotherly Way, and particularly by our Letter of the 14th of *June* last, in favour of those of our Communion in *Poland* and *Lithuania*, who are called *Non-Conformists*, and daily oppressed by the Clergy of the Church of *Rome*.

"We hoped our Intercessions would have put a Stop to such unheard-of Proceedings, to protect their Churches, to procure the Restitution of those taken from them since the Treaty of *Oliva*, to maintain them in the peaceable Exercise of their Religion, and to redress all their Grievances: And this Hope of ours was founded on your Majesty's established Character for Equity.

"But we are sorry to hear, that not only your Majesty and the Republick of *Poland* have paid no Regard to our Representations, but that the Protestants are still robbed of their Churches; and that all Manner of Pretexts and indirect Methods are made use of more and more, to deprive them intirely of the Rights and Privileges confirmed by the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom of *Poland*.

"It is inexpressible, how much our Concern is aggravated by that horrid Sentence of the late Court of Chancery at *Warsaw*,

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“ against the poor City of *Thorn* and its Pro-
 “ testant Inhabitants, whereby several Persons
 “ of Note, and others, have not only been
 “ condemned to one of the most cruel and
 “ infamous Deaths, upon Account of a Tu-
 “ mult, and some Incivilities of the Popu-
 “ lace to the Jesuits, but their Church is also
 “ taken from the Inhabitants, their Schools
 “ destroyed, and the Form of their Govern-
 “ ment utterly subverted; and in a Word,
 “ the Inhabitants stripped of all their Privi-
 “ leges, so dearly purchased, and confirmed
 “ by the Peace of *Oliva*, and the whole
 “ barely founded upon the false Depositions
 “ of the Jesuits, and on the Declarations of
 “ Witnesses of the same Stamp, without
 “ granting the Persons accused sufficient
 “ Time to prepare for their Defence, or so
 “ much as an Audience to hear their Rea-
 “ sons, but condemning them in a Manner
 “ so precipitant and tumultuous, that there
 “ are very few Instances of greater Partiality
 “ and Injustice.

“ THIS makes it suspected, that the Je-
 “ suits themselves raised this Tumult, in
 “ hopes it would give them an Opportunity
 “ to strip the Protestants at once, in the
 “ most horrid Manner, of their Lives, Ho-
 “ nours, Estates and Privileges, the rather,
 “ because the Hatred of the *Romish* Clergy
 “ is carried so far, that if God does not in-
 “ terpose, the Protestant Religion will be in-
 “ tirely extinct in *Poland* and *Lithuania*, not-
 “ withstanding the Precautions taken to se-
 “ cure the Liberties and Privileges of those
 “ *Non-Conformists*, as well by the fundamen-
 “ tal

“ tal Laws of the Kingdom of *Poland*, as by
“ Conditions of Elections confirmed down
“ from one King to another, and by your
“ Majesty too in a Manner so solemn, and
“ by the most sacred Oaths.

“ YOUR Majesty will easily imagine, that
“ we cannot bear to see all these unheard-of
“ Persecutions against those of our Commu-
“ nion, without extreme Sorrow and Com-
“ passion : And we hope your Majesty will
“ have Regard to the just Prerogatives of
“ this poor City, and so far pity the sad Con-
“ dition to which it is reduced, as to reverse
“ the unjust Sentence of the Court of *Warsaw*,
“ and to establish an impartial Tribu-
“ nal, consisting of equitable and peaceful
“ Persons of both Religions, to reconsider
“ and determine that Affair.

“ BY this your Majesty will not only do
“ what must be well-pleasing in the Sight of
“ God, who can take no Pleasure in the
“ bloody Sacrifice of so many innocent Per-
“ sons, and who has reserved the Empire
“ over their Consciences to himself alone ;
“ but your Majesty will also prevent your
“ Glory from being tarnished by the Execu-
“ tion of so many worthy Persons, whose
“ Blood will cry to Heaven for Vengeance :
“ And by relieving those of our Religion your
“ Majesty will give us an illustrious Proof of
“ your Friendship for us ; and we will endea-
“ vour to convince you upon all Occasions,
“ that we are with great Affection, &c.

FREDERICK IV.

THE King of *Sweden* also, when he received an Account of the barbarous Proceedings of the *Poles* against the Protestants of the City of *Tborn*, and a Letter from the King of *Prussia* upon the same Subject, he communicated those Pieces to his Council; and all the Members of it were moved with so much Indignation against that unparalleled Cruelty, that they made it their Request to him, to interpose his good Offices in order to procure due Satisfaction to that City, and to take such Measures in Concert with the Guarantees of the Treaty of *Oliwa* and other Protestant Princes, as should seem necessary to oblige the *Poles* to restore the Liberties of the Protestants of *Tborn*, and provide for the Security of the Protestant Religion, which the Papists were endeavouring to destroy in *Poland* and *Lituania*. The King of *Sweden*, who had the Protestant Cause very much at Heart, wrote in most pressing Terms to the King of *Poland*, to represent the horrid Proceedings of the *Poles* against that City, which were a downright Violation of the Treaty of *Oliwa*, declaring, that unless Satisfaction was forthwith given to the injured Protestants, he should think himself obliged to concert Measures with the other Powers concerned in that Treaty, for maintaining the Privileges and Liberties of the City of *Tborn*, against those barbarous Incroachments.

THE King of *Sweden* wrote also to his Father, the Landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, and several other Protestant Princes; and his Majesty's Minister made a Representation of that Affair at the Court of *Russia*, which seemed con-

convinced, that the Zeal of the *Polish* Papists ought to be reduced within due Bounds, seeing they equally aimed at the Destruction of all Dissenters in *Poland*, among whom there were a great Number of the *Greek* Church, for whom the *Russian* Ministers had made vain Intercessions at the *Polish* Court.

THE King of *Sweden*'s Letter to the King and Republick of *Poland* contained in Substance, " That his Majesty had been deeply affected and grieved to hear, that contrary to all *Right* and *Justice*, and all the Treaties that had so long subsisted between the two Crowns, they had proceeded against the poor Inhabitants of that City in such a barbarous Manner, and that moreover they pretended to take from them their Churches, Colleges and Estates: That his Majesty was indispensably obliged to interpose his most pressing Instances in Behalf of that City, to the End it might not be deprived of its Privileges, and the ancient Alliance between the two Crowns might not be broken through."

HIS SWEDISH Majesty likewise wrote the following Letter to the King of *Great Britain*.

" WE, FREDERICK, &c. as we doubt not but the Oppression of the Protestants in *Poland* is very well known to your Majesty, and particularly the late Persecution of those at *Tbern*, who, by a Sentence of the Assessorial Tribunal at *Warsaw*, have been cruelly deprived of Life, Limb, Estate, Reputation, and all Rights Spiritual and Temporal, and as we are persuaded
" your

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“ your Majesty cannot but be affected with
 “ great Grief and a just Indignation to see,
 “ that all the Endeavours used hitherto with
 “ so much Zeal and Sincerity, for maintain-
 “ ing their Freedom and Safety, avail no-
 “ thing: We being affected with the same
 “ Cause, especially since the Tempest raised
 “ against those of *Thorn*, which goes to our
 “ very Heart, thought we ought not to de-
 “ lay a Moment, strenuously to invite your
 “ Majesty by this Letter, as we have already
 “ done by our Plenipotentiaries residing at
 “ your Court, to act in Concert with us in
 “ an Affair of so great Importance.

“ WE, for our Part, after the Example of
 “ our Predecessors, of glorious Memory, who
 “ formerly asserted, and after, by the Peace
 “ of *Olwa*, confirmed the Liberty of the
 “ Protestants in the Kingdom of *Poland*,
 “ shall never be sparing in any Endeavours,
 “ Pains or Measures for preserving and main-
 “ taining their said Liberty. And we have
 “ made no Scruple to recommend this Affair
 “ to the Emperor, not only from the great
 “ Trust which we place in his Equity, but
 “ because his Imperial Majesty’s Father, of
 “ glorious Memory, was one of the Parties
 “ concerned in the Treaty.

“ FROM the same Motive, we were not
 “ willing to delay soliciting the most potent
 “ King of *France*, whose Great Grandfather,
 “ of glorious Memory, was a Guarantee of
 “ the said Treaty for himself and Successors,
 “ to make good the said Guaranty and Pro-
 “ mises, in sure and certain Hopes that the
 “ said Potentates, imitating, as well as we,
 “ the

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“ the glorious Examples of their Ancestors,
“ will employ themselves in good Earnest,
“ and in Concert, for securing the Liberty of
“ the Protestants in *Poland* according to the
“ Treaty of *Oliva*.

“ AND we are persuaded, that your Majesty
“ will recommend this Affair to the said
“ Powers, and others as you shall think fit,
“ and take what other Measures you shall
“ judge convenient, of which we have the
“ less Doubt, because your Majesty cannot
“ but see, from your great Wisdom, what
“ speedy Remedies the Mischief requires,
“ and how necessary it is, that your Majesty
“ should speedily concert with us the Mea-
“ sures proper for this End, it being but too
“ manifest, that by the cruel Execution of
“ the Sentence issued at *Warsaw*, the bloody
“ Authors of that wicked Tragedy have, as
“ it were, given a Signal for cutting off all
“ the Liberties of the Protestants in *Poland*
“ at one Stroke.

“ For the rest, we heartily recommend
“ your Majesty to the Divine Protection.

Signed

Dated at Stockholm,

Jan. 26, 1725.

FREDERICK.

And underneath,

D. N. Von Hopken.

No Prince in *Europe* was more in Earnest
in this Affair of *Tborn*, than the late King of
Prussia, who having wrote a very pressing
Letter to his *Polish* Majesty, received an An-
swer, brought to *Berlin* by Count *Fleming*, the
King

King of *Poland's* Minister, wherein that Prince expresses "a deep Concern for what had passed on that Occasion, and protests, that it ought not to be laid to his Charge, since his Intention was to pardon the Guilty, or to punish them but slightly; but that they surprized him in obtaining the Sentence to be executed eight Days sooner than the Time limited for it, and that this anticipated Order ought to be wholly imputed to his Ministers."

THIS Answer was not at all satisfactory to his *Prussian* Majesty, who returned a very smart Reply to Count *Fleming*, and absolutely demanded the Restitution of the Church taken from the *Lutherans*, that of their Estates confiscated, and that all Things should be restored upon their ancient Footing, with respect to the Members of the Council and the Civil Government of that City.

THE King of *Poland* not long after wrote a Letter to the *Lutheran* Magistrates of *Tborn*, to assure them, that he was sorry, and much concerned upon Account of the violent Execution made in that Town, in which he had directly no Manner of Share; but could not avoid, according to the Constitutions of the Kingdom, to sign the Resolutions of the General Diet, in which the Affair of *Tborn* was included; and that positive Assurances were given him, that the Sentence issued by the Assessorial Tribunal at *Warsaw* should not be literally put in Execution.

THE Protestant Powers seemed resolved to see Restitution made to the People of *Tborn*, and Mr. *Finch*, his *Britannick* Majesty's Envoy
Extraor-

Extraordinary at the Diet of *Ratisbon*, had Orders to repair forthwith to *Dresden*, with which he acquainted the Deputies of the Protestant Princes, to whom he made the following Speech before his Departure.

“ GENTLEMEN,
ACCORDING to Instructions from my Master the King of *Great Britain*, I had Yesterday the Honour to communicate to you, by my Secretary, the Orders with which his Majesty has been pleased to honour me, to repair immediately to his Majesty the King of *Poland*; the King my Master, as a Protestant Prince, being not willing in any Case to excuse himself from giving convincing Proofs of the great Esteem he has for, and the great Regard he pays to a Body so illustrious and venerable as the Evangelick.

THE Extremities to which the Affairs of *Thorn* have been carried against that City, by the *rash Counsels*, to call it by no harder a Name, of the sworn and declared Enemies of our holy Faith, are so recent, that I cannot be reproached with attempting to revive the Memory of a Scene so tragical, barbarous and fatal; and which the Honour of those who were the Authors of it, and who have very ill served their King and Country, requires to be buried in eternal Oblivion.

THE Conscience of the King my Master, as a Protestant Prince, and Defender of the Faith, his Honour as a Guarantee of the Treaty of *Oliva*, (a Treaty so solemn, that History cannot produce an Instance of any other, that received the Sanction of so many Kings

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Kings and Potentates) oblige him to be concerned at the unparallel'd Infringement of it; and moreover the Clemency, Justice and Equity of his *Britannick* Majesty are too well known in the World for any one to suppose; that he is not grieved to the very Soul for the Death of so many Innocents, as tragical as it was unjust.

THE King my Master cannot excuse himself from trying all fair Means, in the first Place, by the most effectual Representations in favour of those whom their Enemies, glutted with Slaughter, have left alive, whose Liberties have all been destroy'd, Churches profan'd, Schools taken away, Estates confiscated, and Persons banished, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, and even with the Invocation of the most Holy and blessed Trinity; and this for no other Crime, but for trying to work out their Salvation according to the Word of God, and the Light of their Consciences: For it happens, that of those poor People there were some, who deserve the Title of Martyrs, and the rather, because they might have saved their Lives, if they would have sacrificed their Religion.

THE Measures therefore which the King my Master will take in this Affair, will be no other than what will be dictated to him by his Conscience, by his Honour, by his Sentiments of Humanity, and such as will be sufficient to quiet the Minds of all the *English* Nation, which with one unanimous Voice cry out for Justice or Revenge.

I HAVE no Need to borrow the Helps of Eloquence to excite your Passions, or to ani-

mate your Resentments; for I have been Witness, with very great Satisfaction, of the Expressions of Sorrow and Indignation which you made use of to shew your Horror and Detestation of it, when the tragical News was first brought to us. And indeed the Tragedy of *Tborn*, written in so many Letters of Blood, could not fail to make the deepest and most lasting Impression on the Heart of every good Protestant, as lasting as are those Scars, which are left by the murdering Sword that has cut off the Heads of so many Innocents.

I AM persuaded, that the Resolution which the King my Master has taken, with respect to the Affairs of *Tborn*, to the End that the Protestants may be restor'd to their ancient Privileges; and that the fresh and shining Proofs which he thereby gives of his Zeal for our holy Religion, which Zeal of his increases as fast as does the Danger and Destruction that threaten the said Religion, will be Matter of perfect Joy to you, unless it be abated by the Incapacity and Inexperience of the Person whom his Majesty has chosen for a Commission, as difficult as it is important. But I hope that the Grace of God will enlighten me, and that his Hand will lead me in whatever I shall do for the Defence of the Word, which he himself has preach'd, and for which the Protestants of *Tborn* have lately suffered: I dare flatter myself, that the Authority of so great and powerful a King, in whose Name I speak, and the Justice of this Cause, which does not want to be set in a

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ger Light, may in some Measure supply my Deficiency.

I HOPE, Gentlemen, that you will give an Account to your Masters of what I have the Honour to tell you on the Part of mine, that all *Europe* may be convinced, that the Protestants act in Concert.

THE best Proof of the good Success of my Commission will be, to have the Honour of meeting you again very soon, to express to you my continual Attachment to the common Cause, and the great Esteem and Regard which I shall always have for your Persons."

WHEN Mr. *Finch* arrived at *Dresden*, he delivered a very pressing Letter to King *Augustus*, from his *Britannick* Majesty, upon this Affair, and made the necessary Representations and Instances to obtain a final Resolution in the Demands of the Protestant Powers; his *Polish* Majesty declared to that Minister, That it was not in his Power to procure the Satisfaction insisted upon, but that he would try all possible Means to prevent a Rupture; and that in the mean time he hoped all Acts of Hostility would be suspended, till his Majesty had received the final Resolution of the Primate of *Poland*, upon the Letters and Papers sent to him concerning this troublesome Affair.

HIS BRITANNICK Majesty's Care did not stop here; but he took Occasion, by a separate Article in the Treaty of *Hanover*, to engage the King of *France*, who was one of the Guarantees of the Treaty of *Oliva*, to promise to see it maintained and observed in its

its full Extent, and to cause Reparation to be made, for what had been done at *Tborn* contrary to the said Treaty.

THE Primate of *Poland* in the mean time, on his Part, having called the Senators together at *Warsaw*, read to them his *Polish* Majesty's Letter, and other Papers concerning the Business of *Tborn*; after which he made a long Speech, wherein among other Things he said, That he was no Stranger to the Treaty of *Oliva*, and that he knew very well there was nothing in it, forbidding the Punishment of Rebels, and impious Profaners of the Church of God and his Saints, such as were the Inhabitants of *Tborn*: That therefore the best Answer to be returned to the Instances in their Favour, would be to signify to them, that they should learn to be more cautious for the future; and concluded, that in respect to the Menaces of the Protestants, the *Poles* hoped the Almighty God would assist them in Defence of his Honour, and give a Blessing to their Arms.

IT has been said before, that the *Russian* Ministers had made vain Intercessions for the Protestant Dissenters at the Court of *Poland*; it was likewise one of the Affairs, that the Emperor *PETER the Great* recommended on his Death-bed to the Empress *CATHARINE*; and she, who had been born and bred up in the *Lutheran* Religion, till she was twenty Years of Age, still preserved such favourable Sentiments of it, as made her interest herself the more for the poor unhappy Citizens of *Tborn*; therefore she was not satisfied with only sending Orders to Prince *Dolgorucki*, her

Minister at *Warsaw*, to intercede with all his Power for that Town, but declared to the neighbouring Princes, who were resolved to assist the People there with all their Strength, that she would do the same, and act in Concert with them in favour of the oppressed Protestants; and for that Purpose, kept a Body of Troops a long Time in *Courland*, and upon the Banks of the *Dwina*, in Readiness to march, if it should be found necessary: But Things were not brought to that Extremity, and the Affair being put into Negotiation, the Court of *Poland* at length suffered the *Non-Conformists* to enjoy their former Privileges, and remain in quiet.

*The Marriage
of the Duke of
HOLSTEIN.*

DURING these Transactions the 1st of *June*, 1725, was fixed upon for solemnizing the Nuptials of the Duke of *Holstein* with the Imperial Princess *Anne Petrovna*: This Prince was Son of *Frederick IV.* and *Hedwiga Sophia* of *Sweden*, the eldest Daughter of *Charles XI.* He was named *Charles-Frederick*, and was born at *Stockholm* on the 16th of *April* 1700: His Father, Generalissimo of the *Swedish* Army, was killed at the Battle of *Cliffau* on the 19th of *July* 1702, and his Mother died at *Stockholm* on the 12th of *December* 1708. As the King of *Sweden*, *Charles XII.* his Uncle, had no Inclination to Marriage himself, this young Prince was brought up in the Hopes of succeeding him; but these were all overthrown by the fatal Death of that Monarch, and by the Laws that were made by the States of the Kingdom, at the Accession of the Princess *Ulrica* to the Throne of her Ancestors, notwithstanding the Protestations of the Duke
of

of *Holstein*, who pretended to a Right to the Crown before that Princess, not only as his Mother was the elder Sister, but because, as he said, Women could not succeed but for want of Male Issue, even in the Collateral Line.

THE House of *Holstein* is a Branch of the *The Foundation* Royal Family of *Denmark*; and derives its *of the Differences between* Original from *Frederick I.* King of *Denmark* in the Room of his Nephew *Christiern* the **DENMARK** Cruel, from the Year 1523, to his Death **and HOL-STEIN.** 1534: This Prince having had two Wives, *Christiern III.* born of the first, succeeded him in the Throne; and *Adolphus*, who was by the second, *Sophia*, Daughter of *Bugislas*, Duke of *Pomerania*, formed the ducal Branch of *Holstein*. The Duke *Charles-Frederick* was the sixth from Duke *Adolphus*.

THERE had been for many Years so great an Animosity in the Court of *Denmark* against the Dukes of *Holstein-Gottorp*, that she desired nothing more than an Occasion to take Vengeance on them, which presented itself after the Battle of *Gadebusch*. Count *Steinbock* the *Swedish* General, who had there defeated the *Danes*, entered into *Jutland*, with a View of carrying the Theatre of the War into the States of the King of *Denmark*, who had declared War with *Sweden* after the Defeat at *Pultowa*, according to the Custom of that Crown, to attack *Sweden* only when she is embroiled elsewhere. The Designs of the *Swedish* General drew to the Succour of the *Danes* all their Allies, especially his Czarish Majesty, who leaving a Body of Troops in

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Poland, to guard the Places by which the King of *Sweden* might pass in the Return to his Dominions, put himself at the Head of a powerful Army, and entered *Holstein* like a Torrent, to bear down *Steinbock*, and the Troops he commanded; with this View he caused the Bridge which the *Swedes* had built over the *Eyder*, to be destroyed, to cut off their Retreat.

WHEN STEINBOCK saw the Approach of the Czar, he was all on a sudden obliged to change his Design, and instead of falling upon the Provinces of the Enemy, to think of his own Preservation.

THE Duke of *Holstein* was then a Minor, and brought up at *Stockholm*, Duke *Christiern Augustus*, his Uncle, being Administrator of his Dominions, for which they had obtained a Neutrality from the northern Allies. In the mean time the *Swedish* Army, pursued on all Sides, could find no Retreat but in the Provinces of this Prince; for which Reason, the Count on one Side, and the Regency of *Sweden* on the other, neglected nothing to engage the Duke and Administrator to grant it a Refuge in Case of Necessity.

THE House of *Holstein* was so strictly united to *Sweden*, had so great Obligations to her, and cherished Hopes of such Importance from her, that it was hardly possible to refuse this Piece of Service; therefore the Duke granted all they asked, and the Administrator concluded a private Treaty with Count *Steinbock*, to admit Part of the *Swedish* Troops into *Tonningen*, and to suffer the rest to encamp under the Protection of their Artillery:

But

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But to avoid all Reproaches as much as possible, he would not declare openly for *Sweden*, still protesting that he would observe the *Neutrality*; and engaged the Commandant *Wolff* to keep inviolably secret the Orders he should receive, and to pretend that the *Swedes* entered the Place by Surprise.

WHEN the Czar advanced with his Army, and had drove the *Swedes* from many of their Posts, without finding any Resistance from them, who were hastening to gain the Ramparts of *Tonningen*, whither he pursued them, and when he expected they would have thrown down their Arms, he could not but be greatly surprized, to see them disappear, and enter the Fortrefs, all but a Part of their Cavalry, who remained under the Cannon of the Place behind a Morass. As it was known there was not much Provision left in *Tonningen*, and that these 6000 *Swedes*, who had just entered into it, would not contribute a little to the Consumption of it, it was judged proper to block up the Place. *Steinbock* had no Intention to remain long in *Tonningen*, into which he had not thrown himself but to obtain some Capitulation that might extricate him from the Embarrassment he was in: To this Purpose he deputed some *Swedish* Officers, to endeavour to obtain favourable Terms from his Czarish Majesty; but he would hear of nothing but his yielding himself Prisoner, with all his Army; and he was conducted from hence into *Denmark*, with the Remainder of those Troops who had so lately triumphed at *Gadebusch*. The Allies being now Conquerors, made the most of their good

Fortune, and took ample Revenge on the Administrator and the Duke, for what they had done contrary to the Laws of the Neutrality: *Tonningen* was besieged and took by the *Danes*, whose King seized on all *Holstein-Sleswick*, which had been already sequestered in the Hands of the Enemy; it was pretended at that Time, that all this passed in Concert with the Administrator, who endeavour'd this Way to make his Peace with the King of *Denmark* at the Expence of his Pupil; and on the other Side it was said, that the King of *Denmark*, to secure to himself the Possession of the Dominions he had just then seized on, was one of the first who endeavoured to assure to the Duke of *Holstein* the Succession to the Crown of *Sweden*; and that for this End he set Baron *Gortz* at work by his Intrigues, to bring about the Marriage of that Prince with the Czarian Princess, in order to obtain the powerful Protection of the Emperor *PETER*.

WHETHER that Monarch or no was a Promoter of the Project, it took effect; and that Prince married the eldest Daughter of *PETER the Great*. This Digression may not be thought improper, as it shews how the Duke of *Holstein* came to lose his Dominions; and as the Design of recovering them was one of the principal Affairs in the Reign of the Empress *CATHARINE*, and produced several memorable Events. Let us now return to the Marriage.

THE Duke of *Holstein*, *Charles-Frederick*, was 25 Years of Age, when he espoused the Princess *Anne Petrowna*, eldest Daughter of the
the

the Emperor PETER *the Great*, and the Empress CATHARINE ALEXOWNA: She was in her seventeenth Year, being born on the 5th of *February* 1708, before the Emperor's Marriage with *Catharine* was declared. These Nuptials were celebrated between the Duke of *Holstein* and the Imperial Princess, on the 1st of *June* 1725, with all the Pomp imaginable: The Duke was conducted from his Palace to the Imperial Castle by Prince *Menzikoff*, grand Marshal, the Procurator General *Jagofinski*, second Marshal, and sixteen Gentlemen of the Houshold, preceded by Trumpets and Drums. His Royal Highness was received at the Imperial Palace by all the great Officers of the Crown, and conducted by Prince *Menzikoff* into the great Hall, where the Imperial Family received him, and the Compliments lasted about half an Hour, after which the Procession began, under the Discharge of the great Guns, towards the Church of the *Holy Trinity*, where the Archbishop, assisted by several Ecclesiasticks, gave the Benediction to the new married Couple, in Presence of the Empress, who after this Ceremony conferred the Order of *St. Catharine* on the Bride, and that of *St. Andrew* on General *Butturlin*, and the Privy Counsellor *Bassewitz*; after which her Imperial Majesty returned to her Summer Palace, where the illustrious Couple also appeared, with all those who had been invited to the Nuptials. At the two Extremities of the great Hall were erected two Thrones, under which were two Tables, one for the Duke, and for those Lords who represented his Fathers and Brothers;

thers; and the other for the Princess, her Mothers, Sisters, and Bride-Maids. The Duke had for Fathers Count *Appraxis*, Grand Admiral, and Count *Goloffkin*, Grand Chancellor; and for Brothers, the General Count *Bruce*, and General *Butturlin*: The Mothers of the Princess were the Duchefs of *Mecklenbourg* and the Princess *Menzikoff*; her Sisters, the Lady of the Grand Chancellor *Goloffkin*, and the Lady of General *Butturlin*; her Bride-Maids, the Princess *Elizabeth* and the Sister of the *Great Duke*. Two long Tables were prepared on each Side the Hall: The Lords were placed at that on the Right Hand of the Bride. The Empress did not assist at this Feast, but before it began she conferred the Order of *St. Alexander Newski* on Lieutenant General *Gallowin*, and on seventeen other Officers and Ministers.

*The Institution
of the Order
of St. ALEX-
ANDER.*

THIS Order had been lately instituted by the Empress *Catharine*, to recompense the Services of those Officers who were not of a Rank to be adorned with the Order of *St. Andrew*, or as a Degree towards arriving at that most distinguished Mark of Honour. The Ribbon of this new Order was of a Crimson Colour and very broad; the Empress placed it under the Protection of *St. Alexander Newski*, one of the ancient Czars, or Great Dukes of *Muscovy*, the seventh Successor from *Wolodimir*, who reigned towards the End of the thirteenth Century, (as we have mentioned in the first Volume of this Work, *Page 10.*) and whose Virtues made him esteemed as a Saint by his Subjects. It was this Prince, who first shook off the *Tar-*

tarian Yoke, and refused to pay the shameful Tribute imposed on the *Russians* by their Cham: He first chose *Moscow* for the Place of his Residence, from whence the Name of *Muscovites* has been given to the *Russians* by Foreigners. The Emperor PETER *the Great* built a Monastery and a Church in Honour of this sainted Czar, in the Neighbourhood of *Petersburgh*, on the Banks of the *Neva*, whither he transported his Relicks with great Pomp and Ceremony, in the Month of *September* 1724. Thus the *Russians* have three Orders of Knighthood, two for the Men and one for the Women; the first is that of St. *Andrew*, or the Blue Ribbon, instituted by the Emperor PETER in the Year 1698; the second that of St. *Alexander*, or the Red Ribbon, instituted by the Empress *Catbarine* in the Year 1725; and the third that of St. *Catbarine*, or the White Ribbon, instituted in Honour of his beloved Consort by PETER *the Great* in the Year 1715.

THE Feasts and other Entertainments, which usually accompany the Marriages of Princes, did not divert the Attention of the Empress from the Affairs of her Government, which required a more than common Vigilance, as it was of an extraordinary Kind, and what few of the *Russians* had expected; for which Reason there was a great deal of Room to fear some Attempts against it, especially in a Nation so much inclined to revolt, and among so many Nobles who yet resented the Force that had been put upon them, to make them renounce their ancient Customs, and adopt those that were established by the deceased

deceased Emperor. All *Europe* expected to see them return to their long Beards, their long Robes, and their furr'd Caps; and that they would undertake any Thing to preserve them: Besides this, it was a Novelty among the *Russians* to see a Woman on the Throne, whereon no one had sat since the Princess *Olga*, Mother of the third Grand Duke, in whose Place she reigned, altho' with great Courage and Genius, yet with much Inhumanity. This Novelty was also the more surprizing to them, as there was a Prince to whom the Crown seem'd of Right to belong.

ALL these Things considered, it was to be fear'd, that the Favourers of the old Customs and the rest of the discontented Party would get the young Prince into their Hands, and carry him to *Moscow*, where they might set the Crown upon his Head: This was to be fear'd within the Empire, and there were no less Difficulties to encounter without. All the neighbouring States seem'd to take fresh Courage at the Death of a Monarch, whose very Name carried Terror in it. *Poland* especially imagined, that the Time was come, when she should get rid of her continual Apprehensions, and be able to make an Advantage of her Pretensions founded on the Terms of her Alliance with the late Emperor. *Sweden* hoped to be able to recover her Losses by Favour of the first Troubles that should happen; and *Denmark* flattered herself, that she had nothing more to fear, and that the Empress *Catherine* would scarce be in a Condition

to push on the Projects formed by her Husband in favour of the House of *Holstein*.

CATHARINE took the wisest Measures to prevent all Enterprizes against her Government, and put herself in a Posture to receive Laws from no one. To be secure from all that could happen at home, it was sufficient to continue in their Employments the faithful Ministers of the late Emperor, who had a proper Influence over all Parts of the Government, and over the whole Nation; therefore she made no Change in the Ministry, nor in the Generality. The equitable and faithful *Goloffkin* was still continued in his Post of Grand Chancellor, Prince *Menzikoff* in that of Prime Minister, and Count *Appraxin* at the Head of the Marine: The Generals and Counsellors of State, *Repin*, *Galliezin*, and *Dolgorucki*, remained in their Employments, and there was no Alteration made either in the System or Conduct of the Court toward foreign Powers.

AFFAIRS were conducted in such a Manner with respect to the neighbouring Potentates, as might destroy any Idea they should entertain of the Government's being more weak than under the late Emperor; for this Reason great Care was taken to augment the Troops and dispose them so, as to be ready to be employed on the first Occasion that might happen; they likewise worked on the Improvement of the Marine with the same Diligence as in the last Reign; and by the Example of the late Emperor, they armed a Summer Fleet, which was put out, according to Custom, with Sailors, Soldiers and Provisions,

The wise Measures taken by CATHARINE, to prevent any Designs against her Government.

sions, as if designed for some intended Expedition.

AT the same Time that these Dispositions were made, as the Demands were renewed at *Copenhagen* on the Freedom of the *Sound*, and the Restitution of the States of the Duke of *Sleswick*, Son-in-law to her Imperial Majesty, the Court of *Denmark* made no Doubt of their Intentions, and that these Armaments threatened the Coasts of *Jutland*, therefore she armed with so much the more Diligence, as she imagined, that the Court of *Russia* would neglect nothing to support the Duke of *Holstein*, and fitted out a Fleet of twenty Ships of the Line, besides some Frigates and a great Number of small flat-bottom'd Boats. Her Troops were posted in such a Manner, as to be useful on the first Orders given; and they even sent for some Regiments from *Norway*: Nevertheless nothing passed, but each Fleet remain'd on its own Coast; that of *Russia* having advanced above *Cronsfloot* with the Troops embarked thereon in *Livonia*, returned to *Revel*, and left only a small Squadron, which went as far as the Island of *Oesel* to exercise the Men, as had been the Custom of PETER.

THE Apprehensions that these yearly Armaments gave to *Denmark*, that the *Russians* would, on a sudden take an Occasion to enter some of their Provinces, drew them every Year into Expences that were unprofitable in Appearance, but which nevertheless drained their Finances; for which Reason they endeavoured to find some Means to get rid of these Fears, by obtaining a powerful Alliance, of
which

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which we shall see the Consequence in the next Year.

WHILST they inspired vain Fears towards the West, the *Russian* Generals continued the Conquests began by *PETER the Great* on the Coasts of the *Caspian* Sea. *Myrr-Magbmud*, or *Myrr-Weis*, as he is commonly called in *Europe*, kept the *Porte* in play, and she, on the other hand, found so much Employment for this *Myrr-Magbmud*, that neither one nor the other could traverse the Enterprizes of *Russia*; but *Myrr-Magbmud* dying soon after *Peter*, it was to be fear'd, that either the *Persians* or the *Turks* would turn a Part of their Forces towards the Coasts of the *Caspian* Sea. It may not be improper to give a Relation, in this Place, of the extraordinary Revolution that happened in *Persia*, as this Digression will conduct us to the Death of *Myrr-Magbmud*, and give us a Notion of the Designs of his Successor.

THE PERSIANS, who almost all of them follow the Errors of *Mahomet*, are divided into two Sects; one follows the *Alcoran* according to the Explication and Commentaries of *Aly*, whom they call the Co-adjutor or Lieutenant of God, and the other follows the Doctrine of *Omer*; the first are those who are properly called *Persians*, and they have always had the King, the Princes, and the greatest Part of the Nobles of their Party; the second are called *Aghevans*, and their Sect never made any Progress but in the Provinces of *Candabar*, *Korazan*, *Sizisthan*, and *Kirman*; nevertheless, being declared Enemies of the *Persians*, who had sometimes ill treated them, they thought

*A Digression
with relation
to the Affairs
of PERSIA.*

thought only how they might find an Opportunity to revolt from them, and intirely shake off their Yoke: For this they had need of a Man of Understanding and Spirit to be their Leader, and conduct them in their Enterprizes; they did not seek long before they found such a one as they wanted, in the Person of *Myrr-Magbmud*, the Son of *Myrr-Weis*, of their Sect.

*The Rise of
MYRR-
MAGHMUD,
commonly called
MYRR-WEIS,
from the Name
of his Father.*

THIS Man, who was extremely ambitious, altho' born of the vilest of the People, and who had thought for some Years, how to render the Province of *Candabar* independent, under the Pretext of defending its Rights and Privileges, and even to seize on the Throne, if Fortune favoured his Designs, very readily fell in with this good Disposition of the *Agb-vans*, and began to raise a considerable Body of Troops in the Mountains, and to go on with the greater Security in the vast Designs he meditated; he endeavoured to gain over the *Guebres*, an ancient People of *Persia*, who had the Reputation of being very couragious, and who were the very best Soldiers in the Kingdom: In this he succeeded to his Wishes; and having got together 10,000 of these People, he joined them to a Body of about 15,000 *Agb-vans*, and with this Force went, in the Beginning of *January* 1722, against *Kirman*, the capital City of the Province of that Name: This City made no long Resistance; for besides that it was not provided for such an unexpected Attack, there was found within its Walls a considerable Body of *Guebres*, who very joyfully embracing the Party of their own Sect, soon obliged the rest

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rest of the Inhabitants to deliver up the City to the Enemy: This Acquisition, which rendered *Myrr-Magbmud* Master of the Province of *Kirman*, greatly encouraged him, and made him take the Resolution of going directly to *Ispahan*, the Capital of the whole Kingdom.

HE went from *Kirman* at the Head of about 40,000 Men, leaving only a thousand Soldiers in the Town to guard it: He hardly found any one in the Road to oppose his March; his Troops every Day increased by the great Number of Vagabonds, who came to join him. The People every where terrified, abandoned their Towns and Villages to screen themselves from the Cruelty of their Enemies: Two Men only, *Murza Rostom*, Brother to the Prince of *Georgia*, Commander of the *Persian* Horse, and *Alimerdan-Kan*, Prince of *Aristan*, shew'd any Inclination to stop his Progress; they came before the Rebel with four or five thousand chosen Men, and attacked him briskly; but after some little Advantages gained, they found themselves overpowered by the great Number of the Enemy, and were obliged to fly, that they might save their Lives, and avoid the Rage of the Rebels. There were above 7000 Men killed in this Engagement, and the greatest Number were on the Side of *Myrr-Magbmud*, who now continued his Rout towards *Ispahan*, which City being in the utmost Consternation, without Troops, Ammunition or Provision, knew not how to oppose a formidable Enemy, from whom they could hope for no Quarter. The King, more terrified than any Body else, having his Soldiers dis-

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perfed in the different Provinces of his Kingdom, and feeing the Impossibility of getting them together Time enough to be of any Service to him, caufed 40,000 Men to be levied in Haste in the City, which he divided into two Bodies, and gave the Command of them to the Prince of *Havouza*, called *Valey*, and to the *Atbemat-Doulet*, or Prime Minister of his Court.

THESE two Generals went out of the City at the Head of their Troops, to give Battle to the Enemy, who advanced with great Speed. On the 8th of *March* 1722, they met within four Leagues of *Ispahan*; the two Armies ftopt in Sight of one another, without either of them daring to begin the Battle: A Shouting was heard on both Sides, and feveral Mufket-Shot were fired without doing any Execution. At length the Prince of *Havouza*, on the 9th in the Evening, began to advance towards the Enemy; his Attack was fo brisk, that without giving them Time to reconnoitre their Forces, he forced all he encountered with to throw down their Arms; and notwithstanding all the Precautions *Myrr-Magbmud* had taken to fortify his Camp, the Prince, by Favour of a Shower of Bullets, penetrated into it, Sabre in Hand, and feized on all the Treasure he found there. A Succes of this Nature quite dazzled him, and far from animating, softened his Courage: He thought only how to preferve his Riches, and inftead of purfuing the Enemy, shamefully retired fully fatisfied with the Spoils he had made.

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HIS Avarice cost his Country dear; for the Enemy soon perceiving his Flight, re-entered their Camp, killed all those *Persian* Soldiers, who had not followed the Prince, and then pursued him with so much Speed and Heat, that after they had made a great Slaughter in his Rear-Guard, they came up with the Baggage and all their Treasure, which they retook, and brought back again to their Camp.

THIS Defeat of the Prince of *Havouza* animated the Courage of the Rebels; but at the same Time very much abated that of the *Atbemat-Doulet*: This General, who on his Side fought valiantly, and even with Advantage against the Enemy, finding himself, by the Flight of the other General, out of a Condition to resist any longer, resolved to make an honourable Retreat, and go and encamp near the City in an advantageous Place, where he might not be easily attacked, which he did, but not without being vigorously pursued, and losing a great many Men in the Retreat.

THE News of this Defeat, in which 15,000 *Persians* were slain, all their Baggage taken, with 25 Pieces of Cannon, was soon known at *Ispahan*, and brought so much Terror upon the Inhabitants, and even the King himself, that if the Enemy had made the most of their Victory, they might the same Day have taken both the City and the King; but *Myrr-Magbmud*, who could hardly credit his own good Fortune, and fearing that some Ambush was laid for him, contented himself with advancing slowly, stopping here and there to plunder

plunder the *Persian* Grandees of the Riches they had left behind in their Country Villa's about the City.

IN the mean time, the Spies that the Rebel had sent into the Town, to learn what passed there, having related to him the Disorder and Confusion they were in, he repented, but too late, of his Delays; therefore, without amusing himself any more in gathering Riches together, which could not escape him, if he succeeded in his Designs, he advanced with his Troops, and encamped on the 19th of *March* at *Zulpha*, a large Borough inhabited by *Armenians*, not above a League distant from *Ispahan*, and made himself Master of the Place with very little Trouble, the Inhabitants very readily submitting to a Man, whom they could not resist with Impunity.

FROM ZULPHA he sent a Body of 10,000 Men, to try if they could not penetrate into the City, and make themselves Masters of it by Surprise; he caused a more considerable Body to follow them slowly, so that if the first had any Success, they might be readily supported: But this did not succeed. The Negligence of *Myrr-Maghmud* to pursue his first Conquest, and make all the Advantage of it he might, was looked upon by the Inhabitants of *Ispahan*, as an Excess of Fear, which began to seize upon the Rebels, and made them hope from thenceforward, that they should easily subdue those, who did not approach them but with Trembling. They fortified the City the best they were able in their present Circumstances, and posted good Troops

in every Place, where they thought the Enemy could attack them: These Precautions were not unprofitable; for *Myrr-Magbmud's* 10,000 Men approaching, they were repuls'd with Vigour and Loss, which obliged them, as well as the others that followed them, to take to Flight.

THE General of the Rebels, very much concerned that his Dilatoriness had given the City so much Time to be put in Order and fortified, was not willing to let it have any more; but resolved to advance with all his Army, composed of near 100,000 Men, and give it a general Assault, which he determined should be on the 22d of *March* 1722; but the little River of *Zenden*, on the Borders of which *Ispahan* is situated, swelled so much that Day, that the Enemies did not dare venture to pass it; but the next the Waters were fallen enough for the Army to do it without any Danger. The *Agbvans* began the Attack under the Conduct of *James Curland*, otherwise called *Charron*: This Christian having learnt the Success of *Myrr-Magbmud*, with whom he had for a long Time kept an Intelligence, joined him with several *Agbvans*, and these followed the Attack so briskly, that every Thing yielded before them, and they were very near entering the City the same Day; but the *Agbvans*, on these first Advantages, thinking themselves already Masters of *Ispahan*, began to run about without any Order, some on one Side and some on another, hallowing and making a continual Firing. The *Persians* suffered their first Fire to pass,

and then, seeing the Disorder the Besiegers were in, made a vigorous Sally, which so disconcerted the *Aghevans*, that after a feeble Resistance they took to Flight, and with them the rest of the Army.

THIS first Attack not succeeding, the Enemy had no Inclination to begin another very soon: Finding what a powerful Defence was made by the Besieged, they dreaded what another Assault might cost them; therefore altering their Resolution, they thought now only of investing the City, and seizing on all the Passages by which Provisions might be brought to it; so that if they could not take it by Force, they might reduce it by Famine; and this Undertaking succeeded.

ISPAHAN, is without Dispute, one of the largest Cities in the World, it is at least ten Leagues in Circumference, without reckoning several considerable Suburbs, well enough fortified: It is true, it is not peopled in Proportion to its Largeness; for besides the publick Squares, of which there are a great Number, and of large Extent, there is hardly an House, even of an Artificer, that has not a Court, and a large Garden with abundance of Trees, belonging to it; so that whoever views this City at a Distance, imagines it to be a vast Forest, with several Houses built in it.

THE Enemy were not enough in Number to be able to run the Hazard of dividing themselves into so many Bodies, as would be necessary to seize on all the Posts round about the City to form the Blockade; therefore *Myrr-Maghemud* resolved to keep quiet in his Intrench-

Intrinchments between *Zulpha* and *Ispahan*, and undertake nothing, till he had received a considerable Body of Troops that was coming to him from the Provinces of *Candabar*, *Sizistan* and *Kirman*.

THE King of *Persia*, in the mean time, who saw very well, that the Design of *Myrr-Magbmud* was to invest the City, and force it to surrender by Famine, thought seriously how he might prevent this Misfortune, and resolved, by the Advice of some of his great Men, to make a Sally with above an hundred thousand Men, to go and force the Enemy in his Intrinchments, and at least to drive him to a greater Distance. He proposed his Design to the *Atbemat-Doulet* and *Valey*, Prince of *Havouza*: The first was strongly for this Advice, and would not have had it deferr'd a Moment; but the Prince of *Havouza*, who by his Avarice, as we have taken Notice of before, had occasioned the Loss of the first Battle, fearing, with Reason, that he should be disgraced and set quite aside, if the Enemy should once happen to be beaten, privately favoured the Party of *Myrr-Magbmud*, and cunningly endeavoured to put every thing out of the way, that he thought might be prejudicial to him. The King, who esteem'd this Prince on account of his Bravery, and his Experience in military Affairs, and suspected nothing of his Infidelity, unhappily gave into his Opinion, and absolutely forbid any Sally without an Order from the General *Valey*, to whom he intrusted the Care of the City: This Prohibition, which was not at all expected, considering the Necessity of fighting,

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ing, and the good Disposition all the Inhabitants were in for it, very much surprized and afflicted every one; but they were somewhat comforted by the Departure of Prince *Tab-maseb*, the King's Son.

THIS Prince, endowed with all the Virtues of a Hero, affable, liberal, magnanimous, and to whom nothing was wanting but Christianity, and a Crown that was worthy of him, having by his Father been declared presumptive Heir of the Kingdom, and acknowledged as such by all the other Princes of the Blood and Grandees of the Court, went out of the City on the 21st of *April*, accompanied only by four hundred chosen Soldiers. His Design was to get together all the Troops he could in the Provinces, to make a considerable Body, and then to return to the Succour of the Place. Nobody in the least doubted, that the Presence of so amiable a Prince would draw the People in Crowds to his Party, or that the Love which every one seemed to have for him, would make them use their utmost Endeavours to put him very soon in a Condition to resist his Enemies: But what Trust is to be placed in the Fidelity of Men? Princes, like others, have many Friends in Prosperity, and see themselves attended by a Crowd of Courtiers, who all strive to give the most inviolable Proofs of their Attachment, but all disappear at the Sight of Adversity; and the best Friends in Appearance often take to Flight, and leave them a Prey to their Misfortunes.

THIS was proved by the unhappy Prince of whom we are speaking: The sorrowful Condition

Condition he must be reduced to without a speedy Succour, made no Impression on the Minds of his Subjects. The People, and even the Neighbours of *Ispahan*, struck with a Panick at the News of the Defeat of the *Persians*, had quitted their Habitations, and dispersed themselves on every Side, in the Mountains, from whence they would not descend and re-unite in Defence of their Prince. Others at a greater Distance, under Pretence of preserving the Limits of the Kingdom from the Incroachment of the *Turks*, excused themselves from coming to him; and others thinking this a fair Opportunity to satisfy their Ambition, sought only how to make themselves absolute, and become independent in their Provinces. Thus this unfortunate Prince saw himself abandoned by every Body, and not having, among these Disorders in the Kingdom, Authority sufficient to make himself obey'd, resolved to return to *Ispahan*, and defend the City as well as he could, by the Assistance of the Inhabitants, and those Strangers who had taken Refuge there in great Numbers: But it was no longer in his Power to return alone; the City was invested on all Sides, and every Passage to it occupied by the Enemy. For as soon as *Myrr-Magbmud* had heard of the Departure of Prince *Tabmasseb*, he foresaw all that was to be feared, if before the Return of that Prince, he did not put himself in a Condition not to be attacked: He had but two Measures to take, either to abandon his Enterprize and retire, or push on the Siege so vigorously, that it might surrender before any Succours could arrive; the first

first was not agreeable to his Temper, and he had advanced too far to draw back; the second appeared very dangerous. The Resolution which he knew the Besieged had taken, to defend themselves to the last Extremity, made him apprehend, that his Troops might be much weakened under such Circumstances; nevertheless the Necessity he was in of immediately vanquishing, or being himself destroyed, forced him to embrace the latter Design, and Fortune, very unhappily for *Is-paban*, seconded this Resolution.

THERE was upon the River, at one of the Ends of the Town, a very large Bridge, beyond which was a small Fort that commanded the whole Country, and at the same Time a Part of the City: This Fort once taken, *Myrr-Magbmud* could, without running any Risk, easily seize on all the other Fortifications one after another, batter the City as he thought proper, and cut off a Passage for any Provisions to be brought to it.

HIS thought how he might make himself Master of this Post, and an Opportunity offered, which he made the most of; the *Georgians*, to whom the Guard of this Bridge and Fort were intrusted, having by Chance taken a small Provision of *Aqua Vitæ*, which was coming to *Myrr-Magbmud's* Army, had drank of it to such Excess, that they were all drunk, and in their Liquor had left the Fort without any Guard: *Myrr-Magbmud*, who was immediately advertised of this by his Spies, sent 1500 *Aghevans*, who, on the last Day of *April*, seized on the Bridge and the Castle, and having forced all the *Georgians* to lay down their Arms,

Arms, play'd all the Artillery that he found there in great Abundance against the City. This Acquisition facilitated the Passage of *Myrr-Magbmud's* Army from the other Side the River, to take from the *Persians*, and especially from the *Aibemat-Doulet*, the advantageous Posts they occupied, and without which it would have been very difficult to have taken the City.

A Succour of 20,000 Men, whom *Myrr-Magbmud* expected, as was said before, from the Provinces of *Candabar*, *Sizistan*, and *Kirman*, coming up at this Interim, served him not a little in his Enterprize. After having assign'd his new Troops their Posts, which were to guard the Intrenchments that had been made in the Beginning of the Siege between *Zulpha* and *Isfahan*, he divided his Army into two Bodies, and made them pass the River at the two Extremities of the Town. In a short Time he found himself Master of the Fortifications that defended *Isfahan*, and of all the Passages by which any Provisions or other Succours could be brought to it.

THE Besieged seeing their City thus blocked up, without any Hopes of Succour from Prince *Tabmasch*, who they learnt was very much embarrassed himself, and beginning on the other hand to feel the Miseries of Famine, earnestly desired they might be allow'd to go out and give Battle to the Enemy; but the Prince of *Havouza*, who privately favoured the Party of *Myrr-Magbmud*, forgot nothing that might dissuade them from this, saying, that it was not yet Time, that the King's

King's Intention was no other, and that he would not fail of giving them Notice, when the Occasion presented itself: But this Occasion was long in coming, and the Provisions, which diminished every Day, began to fail them; several died of Hunger, and the great Men, as well as the meaner Sort, saw the Necessity there was of attacking the Enemy, and of opening a Passage to their Provisions, which were not far off; but the King, who through too much Fear, or rather a shameful Cowardice, had shut himself up in his Palace, would never listen to their Demands, but on the contrary, being offended with them, as if they had revolted against him, ordered, with an unheard-of Imprudence and Cruelty, that they should be fired upon and absolutely dispersed from before his Palace.

So extraordinary a Conduct would have infallibly caused a general Insurrection in the whole City, if *Achmet Aga*, a valiant and generous Man, and who was very much attach'd to the Interest of his King, had not appeased the Murmurs of the People, and put himself at the Head of the Troops and of the Inhabitants, to go out and fight the Enemy.

It was in the Beginning of *July*, that he went out of the City, followed by above 30,000 Men: He began his Attack, faintly supported by the Prince of *Havouza*, and had at first all the Success he could hope for; after having killed 2000 *Agbrans*, and obliged the rest to retire, he seized on certain Passes, by which he could with Ease bring Provisions into the City.

THIS happy Beginning gave great Joy to the Inhabitants, but it lasted not long; for the Prince of *Havouza*, who till then had only favoured *Myrr-Magbmud* in secret, declared for him openly, and joining his Troops to those of the Enemy, came thundering upon *Achmet Aga*, drove him from the Posts he was possessed of, put all the *Persians* he met with to the Sword, and pursued the others with so much Heat, that they had much ado to gain the City. This Treachery of the Prince of *Havouza*, and the Defeat of *Achmet Aga*, greatly dispirited the Besieged, and made them lose almost all Hope of being able to defend themselves.

THE King of *Persia*, more sensible of this Misfortune than any other, and not knowing where to vent his Resentment in the great Affliction he was under, called to him *Acòmet Aga*, and blamed him publickly, for too readily following the Inclination of the People, and for his Imprudence in going to attack the Enemy in their Intrenchments without the Orders of the Prince of *Havouza*; adding, that if that Prince had betrayed him on this Occasion, it proceeded from the Chagrin he had, to see by this Sally that his Authority was despised, and his Counsels rejected. *Achmet Aga* omitted nothing that he thought might excuse himself, and give the King to understand, that Necessity alone, the Welfare of the State, and the Safety of his Majesty's Person, had engaged him in what he had undertaken; and that as to the Prince of *Havouza*, he had had for a long Time a secret Correspondence with *Myrr-Magbmud*, and that the

the little Care he had shewn to resist him, joined to his constant Application of removing every thing that might incommode, or stop the Enemy in his Victory, was an evident Proof of his Infidelity; but the King not being willing to hear any thing of this Kind, *Achmet Aga*, too sensible of the Reproaches he made him, and believing he could never survive such an Affront with Honour, swallowed a Dose of Poison the next Night, of which he died four or five Hours after.

THE Loss of this Man, who was affable, generous and just, occasioned a general Grief, and even the King himself, being recovered from the Prejudices he had conceived against him, had resolved to intrust the Defence of the City to him; and it must be confessed, there was great Need of a Man of his Honour and Bravery, in the sorrowful Condition it was reduced to by the Famine.

NOTHING could be more deplorable than the Extremities the Inhabitants were drove to: All the Horrors that formerly fell upon the City of *Jerusalem*, during the Time it was besieged by *Titus* and *Vespasian*, were renewed in our Days in the City of *Ispahan*; and it may even be said, that they went beyond them.

In the Beginning of the Siege the King, but little experienced in the Art of War, and listening too easily to the Sentiments of some Persons, unworthy of his Confidence, and incapable of giving him any wholesome Advice, published an Edict, by which he forbade all the Citizens and even Strangers to go

out of the City upon any Pretence whatsoever: Moreover all those who, through Fear of the Enemy, came in Crowds from the neighbouring Villages, were received into the City; so that it contained a vast Multitude of unprofitable Persons. Not only the Houses, but the Gardens, the Streets and all the publick Places were filled with them; notwithstanding which, before the Town was invested, and all the Avenues to it blocked up, all Kinds of Provision were very cheap; but when the Place was invested, every thing bore an excessive Price: An ordinary Loaf of Bread was sold in the Month of *July* from 8 to 10 Piaſtres, in the Month of *August* for 20, in *September* for 100, and at last it mounted to 200 Piaſtres. Horſes, of which the King himſelf was obliged to make his ordinary Diet, were ſold from 12 to 1500 Piaſtres: Dogs and Cats were ſought for, and eat by the private Perſons who could get them; and at laſt the Miſery was ſo great, that Men without Horror fed upon human Fleſh. Perſons who were reduced to Skin and Bones, were ſeen in the Charnel Houſes ſeeking for dead Bodies, to ſupport a little longer the Remains of a languiſhing Life, which Hunger ſoon after deprived them of: Others ran with Fury about the Streets with Bars of Iron in their Hands, to knock down the firſt they met, and afterwards devour their Carcaſſes. Mothers did not even ſpare their own Children, inſenſible of their Cries and Tears, they were the firſt to maſſacre and eat them.

BUT it was not only among the meaner Sort that these inhuman Cruelties were exercised; Persons of the greatest Distinction, after they had consumed all their Money, were drove to the same Extremities: Some Families only, not being able to resolve on such unnatural Horrors, chose rather to die by Poison, than to support themselves wretchedly in a Manner so contrary to Humanity.

SUCH was the unhappy Condition of *Ispahan* for two Months and a half; the Number of the Dead in that Time would surpass ordinary Belief. The Gardens and the publick Squares were like so many Church-Yards: And so many dead Bodies were thrown into the River, that all the next Year no one would venture thro' Horror to eat any Fish.

IF MYRR-MAGHMUD, at this unhappy Conjunction, had attack'd the City, he might infallibly have taken it by Assault, and that without much Trouble; but being desirous to preserve the Treasures of the King and the Nobles, which would certainly have been carried off by the Soldiers in the Heat of the Plunder, he kept himself quiet for above forty Days, still amusing the *Persians* with fruitless Terms of Capitulation, and expecting every Day when the King and the City would surrender at Discretion, which fell out accordingly on the 23d of *October* 1722.

THE King in the first Place, that he might soften the Rage of his Victor, and provide for the Safety of his Life, chose, among the Princesses his Daughters, one whose Beauty, Wit, and engaging Behaviour, he thought would be most agreeable to *Myrr-Magbmud*,
and

and sent her to him with very rich Presents, humbly beseeching he would be pleased to accept of her for his Wife; after which divesting himself of all the Badges of Royalty, and cloathed in a black Garment, he went on Foot with Tears in his Eyes, and in the most humble and submissive Posture, through the principal Streets of the City, deploring his own Misfortunes, and the Ruin of his Family, who were very soon to enter into a severe Bondage.

THE few Inhabitants who were left in *Is-paban*, touched with so melancholy a Spectacle, could not refrain from Tears, and forgetting their own Miseries, for a short Time seemed sensible only to those of their Prince. Their Cries and Groans were heard in all Parts around, and carried as far as *Zulpha*, where they filled the Hearts of all who were there with Grief and Compassion. After this sorrowful Solemnity the King put on his usual Habit again, and having the Crown on his Head, went out of the City accompanied by about 300 Persons of the greatest Rank in his Court, and presented himself before *Myrr-Magbmud* in his Camp.

THE Rebel was intreated, by some about him, to meet the King at his Approach; but this he thought beneath the Dignity of a Conqueror, and contented himself with barely rising out of his Seat at his Arrival, and giving him a common Salute, which he would have done to the lowest Person in his Court.

So, haughty a Behaviour very much turned Mens Minds against him; even the Enemies, especially *Eschereff*, a Chief of the *Agboans*, and a near Relation to *Myrr-Magbmud*, could not forbear to shew his Dislike of it publickly. The King in the mean time, without shewing any of that inexpressible Grief that touched him to the very Soul, approached *Myrr-Magbmud*, and embraced him as if he had been one of his best Friends; he acknowledged him for his Son-in-law, and at length adopted him for his Son, making an authentic Cession to him in Writing of his Kingdom, himself, and his Descendants, excluding his own Children for ever from the Succession, or those who should be born of them.

As all the Acknowledgment for so considerable a Grant, the King desired but two Things; first, that he should not touch his Concubines, and the other, that he should engage himself by Oath, that he would spare his own Life and that of his Children, the Princes of the Blood, whom he ought to look upon as his younger Brothers, and from whom he might expect all the Respect, Submission, and Fidelity, he could desire. *Myrr-Magbmud* engaged himself without Difficulty and even very willingly to all that was required of him: After which, the King taking his Crown from his Head, put it upon that of the Rebel, presented him with his Sceptre, and at the same Time delivered to him the Keys of his Palace and his Treasures, assuring him, that he would always acknowledge him for his Master and only Sovereign.

THE Grandees of the Kingdom, and the Generals of the *Agbrans* and *Guebres* follow'd the Example of the King of *Persia*, and all made their Submission: *Myrr-Magbmud*, after having given the King, according to the Custom of the Country, and all his Train some Refreshment, sent about 4000 Men to seize on the Royal Palace, the Avenues and principal Posts in the City, and made his publick Entry into it on the 25th of the same Month.

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JAMES CURLAND, with 10 or 12 Soldiers on Foot, began the Procession; he himself was mounted on a Horse richly caparisoned, and carried the Keys of the City and Royal Palace; immediately after him followed 150 of the Guards, marching two and two with their Sabres lifted up; these were followed by 20 Officers on Horseback superbly cloathed, and forming a kind of Circle, in the Centre of which was the new King, with the Crown on his Head and the Sceptre in his Hand, mounted on a very fine Horse; which the Prince of *Harvouza* had made him a Present of some Days before: He had on each Side of him the two Chiefs of his Army, *Kior Sultan* and *Amanulla*, with each a Circlet on his Head adorned with precious Stones. The March was closed by an hundred other Soldiers of the Guards, having, as the first, their Sabres in their Hands; after these came the *Persian* Grandees, with some of the Princes of the Blood at their Head, and the dethroned King, who from henceforward was called only *Schah Hussein*. The Streets that led to the Palace were lined with Soldiers with their Muskets

on their Shoulders, and at equal Distances from one Place to another were burnt a Quantity of Perfumes, to disperse the ill Scent which so many dead Bodies had occasioned.

As soon as *Myrr-Magbmud* arrived at the Royal Palace, he was conducted into the great Hall where the Throne stood, and being placed thereon, was a second Time saluted King of *Persia* by *Schab Hussein*, by the Princes and Grandees of the Kingdom, who appeared in great Numbers at the new Court. A Moment after a general Discharge was made of all the Artillery that was in the City; but there was nothing extraordinary in the Rejoicings that followed for some Days, the Misery of the Inhabitants would not allow them to express any great Joy upon this Occasion. The Dearth nevertheless diminished considerably, and the Loaf of Bread that had been sold for 200 Crowns, was by Order of *Myrr-Magbmud* reduced to two Crowns; and very soon after, Provisions coming in in great Abundance, every thing was sold at a reasonable Price.

So happy a Success made the new King imagine, he should be able to carry on all his Enterprizes with great Facility. Master as he was of the Capital of the vast Kingdom of *Persia*, having the King in his Power, the Princes, and the greatest Part of the Grandees, he did not doubt but all the other Cities and Provinces would readily acknowledge his Authority, and submit to it: Therefore, having regulated every thing in *Ispahan*, and put *Schab Hussein* and his Children under a strong Guard, he sent, at the End of *November*,

10,000 *Agboans* to *Cashin*, another capital City of *Persia*, and one of the ordinary Residences of her Kings, to engage it to surrender, and give the first Example of its Submission; the Inhabitants of this City, who were not prepared to hold out a Siege, immediately submitted; but shortly after, not being able to endure the unworthy Cruelties committed by the *Agboans*, entered into a secret Conspiracy and revolted, killing above four thousand of them, took their Baggage from the rest, and obliged them to fly; several of them died on the Road of the Wounds they had received, or through the excessive Cold, against which they were not provided: So that very few of them arrived at *Ispahan* in the Beginning of *February 1723*; and *Amanulla* their General had much ado to get cured of a Musket-Shot he had received in his Right Shoulder.

THE News of this Defeat afflicted *Myrr-Magbmud* in an extraordinary Manner, and learned him how much his Presence was necessary to subdue the rest of the Kingdom to his Dominion; nevertheless he would not go too soon out of *Ispahan*; he feared, that in his Absence some Revolution might happen, which might in a Moment take from him all the Fruits of his Conquest. There was indeed nothing to be dreaded from *Schah Hussein* and the Princes of the Blood, whom he had intrusted with a Guard of his most faithful Adherents; but the Grandees of the Kingdom, to whom he had given their Liberty, might, as soon as he should be engaged in a War elsewhere, spirit up the People against him, oblige the Soldiers he left behind him

to lay down their Arms, and make themselves Masters of the City and the Fortifications.

To prevent this, and assure himself of the City in the first Place, he caused all the Families to come from the neighbouring Provinces, who were found there of his Sect, to whom he distributed a Part of the Houses of those, who had perished by the Famine; after which, under Pretence of giving a Repast to the Grandees of the Kingdom, he assembled them all in his Palace, where he order'd them and their Children to be stabb'd: Their dead Bodies, to the Number of 300, were thrown in the publick Streets. Not contented with this shocking Cruelty, he also caused a thousand Soldiers to be put to Death, who were of the Guards of *Schah Hussain*, and three hundred *Persians*.

SOME few Days after, all those who were thought fit to bear Arms, were massacred; some in their Houses, some in the Streets, and other publick Places: So that according to the common Opinion, there were not less than 25,000 Men destroyed on this Occasion in cold Blood.

MYRR-MAGHMUD, by this monstrous and unheard-of Cruelty, having got rid of all those, from whom he imagined he had any thing to fear, and seeing in the City only Persons of his own Sect, of whose Fidelity he had no Doubt, he thought now of nothing but new Conquests: Therefore, after having given his Orders, and left a good Garrison in the City and all the Castles, he put himself at the Head of his Army in the Beginning

ginning of *May* 1723, and marched towards the Citadel of *Guez*.

THIS Place, built on the Top of a little Hill, is very strong, and as it is commanded by no other Place, was very difficult to take any otherwise than by Famine. *Zeberdelt-Kan*, one of the Generals of the *Agbuans*, had already attacked it several Times, but without any Success; on the contrary, he had been vigorously repulsed, even with Loss. *Myrr-Magbmud* at his Arrival summoned it to surrender, and upon the Refusal of the Governor, he sent 4000 *Guebres* to seize on the Gates, break them down, and force the Garison to submit: This Enterprize did not succeed according to his Wishes; for those who guarded the Citadel, attentive to all that passed in the Army of the Enemy, seeing the *Guebres* with Hatchets in their Hands approaching in Crowds to their Gates, made a Discharge so *à propos* of all their Artillery upon them, that they killed above 2000, which so terrified the rest, that they took to Flight, and returned to the Camp.

IN the mean time, *Myrr-Magbmud* foreseeing what it would cost him, if he persisted in the Resolution of taking the Place by Force, and not thinking on the other hand, that he ought to employ much Time in investing it, and waiting till it should be obliged to surrender through Hunger, had recourse to another Method, in which he succeeded. He sent by some of his Confidants a considerable Sum of Money to the Governor, assuring him, that if he would deliver up the Place, he should receive a much larger, and have a

Government a great deal better than that he held at present: The Soldiers of the Garison were not forgot, but each had a Present given to them; and they soon after gave up the Citadel. *Myrr-Magbmud*, to preserve it, put a thousand *Aghvans* in it, under one of the chief of his Friends, and turned the Governor out, and carried away the Soldiers with him, under Pretext of their participating with him in his Victories.

He afterwards took his Rout toward *Benispaban*, a little City situated on the Ascent of a small Hill, at the Bottom of which extended an agreeable and fertile Plain, water'd by divers Rivulets of running Waters, which made it, in the Summer Season, the most agreeable Habitation of any in the Province of *Airack*.

THIS City gained several Advantages over the Enemy, of whom she destroyed a great Number in a Month's Time, while the Siege continued; but at length being pressed by great Miseries within, she surrendered at the Persuasion of *Zeberdelt-Kan*, on honourable Terms.

THE AGHVANS, hitherto confined to the Territory of *Ispaban* alone, began to think of going out to subdue the other Provinces; nevertheless, as they were apprehensive of some sudden Revolution in favour of Prince *Tabmaseb*, whom some of the People began to follow, it was judged necessary for *Myrr-Magbmud* to remain in the conquered Country with a Part of his Troops, to be in Readiness to remedy any Troubles that might happen, and that *Kior Sultan* should go in the mean

mean while, with the rest of the Troops, to make himself Master of the other Provinces, and most considerable Towns in the Kingdom: Therefore the Army was divided into two Bodies; *Kior Sultan* having under him *Zeberdelt-Kan*, took the most numerous, and went to throw himself into the Province of *Fasshan*, which, after a noble Defence, at length submitted, as we shall see hereafter. *Myrr-Magbmud* kept with him only 25,000 Men, with whom he went to attack *Kalpekin*.

THIS City, which is not above 30 or 35 Leagues from *Ispahan*, and which is situated in a Plain, barren for want of Water, held out strongly for the Party of Prince *Tabmasseb*: It was well-furnished with Troops, Provisions, and Ammunition of War. The Citadel especially wanted for nothing that was necessary for its Defence, and to maintain a long Siege.

As soon as *Myrr-Magbmud* arrived there, and had learnt by his Spies the Resolution of the Inhabitants, and the good Condition of the Place, he began to fear, and repented his having advanced so far with so small a Body of Troops; nevertheless, unwilling to have the Disgrace of abandoning his Enterprize, he disposed every thing in such a Manner, that after having caused several Discharges of his Artillery to be made against the Town, he ordered it to be attacked in three different Places at once, which was done with so much Order and Bravery, that notwithstanding the generous Resistance of the Besieged, he had all the Advantage he could desire, and seized
on

on a small Number of Retrenchments, which served him greatly, to resist the continual Sallies which were wont to be made, and in which he had several Soldiers taken Prisoners.

PRINCE TAHMASEB, who was but two Days March from *Kulpekin*, with 8000 Men, under a Chief named *Fredronc-Kan*, of the Sect of the *Agbuans*, hearing of the Danger that the Besieged were in, came with his little Body of Troops to their Succour, and he came with the more Pleasure, as he thought himself sure of Success. The small Number of the Enemies, whom the continual Rains, and the excessive Sharpness of the Cold, had extremely incommoded, the Fidelity of the Inhabitants with respect to him, and the Goodness of his Troops, had almost assured him before-hand of Victory; but he found himself deceived: For he was scarce arrived, before *Fredronc-Kan*, by the blackest Treachery abandoning his Party, went to embrace that of *Myrr-Magbmud*, suddenly throwing himself, with the best Troops that followed the Prince, upon those who guarded the Retrenchments, and making all whom he encountered throw down their Arms, he seized on all the advantageous Posts they had possessed: The Inhabitants, dispirited and confounded at this unexpected Revolt, and not knowing how to defend themselves in the Distress they were in, abandoned the rest of the Retrenchments, and took Refuge in the Fortress, which was shortly after took by the Enemy. The City was delivered up to be plundered, and all the Citizens put to the Sword: The Prince,

Prince, with the few Soldiers who continued faithful to him, was obliged to fly, and went into the Province of *Mazanderan*.

THE City of *Cassana*, terrified at the Report of this sorrowful News, and fearing that they might soon undergo the same Fate with *Kulpekin*, sent their Chiefs to *Myrr-Magbmud*, and submitted to him, who treated them with all the Lenity that their Submission required.

AFTER these Successes, *Myrr-Magbmud* resolved to return to *Ispahan*, as well to recover from the Fatigues of the War, as to refresh and augment his Troops: Therefore, having put Garisons in the two last Towns, he went away, and arrived at *Ispahan* towards the End of *March 1724*. It was at this Time, there appeared a young *Georgian* Heroine, who performed such Feats of Courage against the *Agbovans*, as could not but be greatly admir'd, and well deserve to be recorded.

THIS brave Woman having learnt, that her Husband was killed by the Enemy at the taking of the Bridge and Citadel of *Ispahan*, spoken of before, resolved to go and revenge his Death upon the Authors of it: She trusted her Effects, and the Education of two Children she had, to the Care of her Brother, and disguising her Sex, and taking convenient Garments, well armed herself, and without being dismayed at the Rigour of the Season, or the Length of the Journey, which was near four hundred Leagues, came with all Speed to *Ispahan*, where she arrived just as *Myrr-Magbmud* made his last Entry into it. She no sooner perceived the *Agbovans*, and the Place where her Husband was killed, but the

Desire

Desire of Vengeance grew stronger in her Heart; therefore, without waiting any longer, but fatigued as she was with her Journey, she threw herself, Sabre in Hand, with Impetuosity upon a Body of *Agboans*, and killed above twenty of them before they had Time to seize her. *Myrr-Magbmud* hearing of the Behaviour of this resolute Woman, caused her to be put into Prison, designing her only some slight Punishment, and to have sent her home again; but the *Agboans* prevented that, by putting her to Death in the Place where she was confined.

In the mean time it was not known what Success the Army had had, which was sent the Year before into the Province of *Fasistan*: All they were certain of was, that the City of *Schiraz*, which is the Capital, had been besieged by *Kior Sultan*, that that General had been killed by a Musket-Shot at the first Attack, and that *Zeberdelt-Kan* taking his Place, had pushed on the Siege with Vigour; but they knew no more, and *Myrr-Magbmud* every Day expected News with great Impatience, which arrived at length in the Beginning of *May*, and gave a great deal of Joy to the new King and all his Party.

SCHIRAZ had been taken in the following Manner: This City, which is situated on the River *Bendemir*, not far from the ancient *Persopolis*, and is reckoned the second City of *Persia*, was almost intirely blocked up in the Beginning of the Siege. The Kan or Governor, who commanded in the Place, and who was one of the most powerful Persons of the

the Court of *Schah Hussein*, neglected nothing that might hinder the Blockade.

SEVERAL slight Battles we fought; but at length, after a few inconsiderable Advantages against the Enemy, he was obliged to yield to a superior Force, and abandon those Posts, which were absolutely necessary to bring Provisions into the City: He had expected some Assistance from *Baguirchagia*, an *Arabian* Prince, who was coming with six or seven thousand Men to the Succour of the Place; but they advanced with so little Order, that about 1400 *Aghevans* defeated them, and killed the greatest Part of them.

THE Governor by this Disaster having lost the only Resource he had left, and seeing on the other hand, that Provisions and Ammunition failed him, that three Parts of the Inhabitants were dead through Hunger, or had been killed, and lastly that the Enemy, so far from diminishing, seemed every Day to increase, he delivered up the City on the 13th of *April*, after a Siege of eight Months, maintained with all the Prudence and all the Bravery, that could be expected from so great a General. Above 6000 *Aghevans* had been killed during the Siege; therefore the City, contrary to the Promise of the Enemy, was given up to be plundered, and to a most terrible Slaughter.

A CONQUEST of such Consequence agreeably flattered the Vanity of *Zeberdelt-Kan*, and strongly incited him to make new ones; therefore, after having regulated all things in *Schiraz*, and put a good Garison into it, he marched towards *Labr*. This Town, which gives its
Name

Name to a little Country between the Provinces of *Kazistan* and *Mogolistan*, and which was formerly the Seat of a Prince, who took the Title of King of *Labristan*, after a feeble Resistance submitted, and received about 3000 *Agbuans* into its Fortrefs, designed for its Guards.

FROM thence *Zeberdelt-Kan* took his Rout towards *Benderabassy*, which was the ancient *Gembra* to whom King *Schah Abas* gave his Name in the Year 1622, and transferred the Trade thither, which was before carried on in the Island of *Ormus*, which he took from the *Portuguese* with the Assistance of the *Engliff*; this Town, as well as the Castle, surrendered in a very short Time.

MYRR-MAGHMUD in the mean while, recovered from all his Fatigues, and having well re-established and augmented his Troops, by the Means of several Families that came to him from different Parts, and especially from *Candabar*, resolved to pursue his Point, and go to conquer the Province of *Kilan*.

HE appeared, in the Month of *June*, at the Head of near 30,000 Men; but his good Fortune now began to forsake him, and this Expedition answered but very ill: He was scarce arrived in *Kilan*, but, thro' the Badness of the Air, and the frequent Incurfions of the *Arabs*, who every Day killed a Number of his Men, he was forced to return to *Ispahan*, having lost all his Baggage and three Parts of his Troops.

IF Prince *Tabmaseb* at this Time had but had 8 or 10,000 Men, to have pursued *Myrr-Maghmud* in his Retreat, he might have soon made

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III

made himself Master of all that the Enemy had taken from him; but the Terror was so great among the People, that Nobody dared embrace the Party of that Prince, at least openly, and he was scarce followed by 2000 Men.

THE Reverse of *Myrr-Magbmud's* Fortune threw him into the deepest Melancholy: The *Dutch*, whom Trade had drawn in a pretty large Number to *Ispahan*, were the first who felt the Effects of his ill Humour; he caused them to be arrested, and to pay him 40,000 *Thomas*, altho' they had already given him above 20,000. After these, the *Armenians* were taxed at 7000; and Choice was made, out of the most considerable Families of this Nation, of fifty Girls to be sent into the Seraglio.

THE FRENCH were a little less ill treated on this Occasion; for he spared their Purse, it is true, but strongly attacked their Liberty. *M. de Gardane*, the Consul of the *French* Nation at *Ispahan*, to whom we cannot in Justice deny the Praises that are due to his Wisdom, his good Conduct, and his Zeal for every thing that regarded the Trade of *France*, received an Order, as well as the other *French* Merchants, not only not to go out of the City, upon Pain of Death, but also not to write any Letters whatsoever, under the same Penalty: So that whatever Inclination *M. de Gardane* had to inform the Court of *France* of what had passed in *Persia*, he dared not satisfy it.

BUT that which chagrin'd *Myrr-Magbmud* the most, was an Account of the Revolt of
Yezd,

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Yezd, which is ten Days Journey from *Ispahan*, on the Side of *Candabar*: The Inhabitants of this City, at the Solicitation of the *Guebres*, who were in great Numbers there, had submitted at first, and received 2000 *Agbvans*, who were sent to be put into Garrison; but learning the bad Situation of the Enemy's Affairs at this Time, they obliged all the *Agbvans* to lay down their Arms, and drove both them and the *Guebres* out of the City.

MYRR-MAGHMUD, embarrassed as he was in his Affairs, would not let this Action go unpunished; he got together all his Troops as soon as possible, from which he selected a Body of about 18,000 Men, and went away on the 22d of *December* for *Yezd*. The Attacks were very frequent and very brisk on the Side of the Besiegers; but they were well sustained, and nobly repulsed by the Besieged; both Sides were only attentive to the Means of becoming Conquerors, and happily one presented itself to the Inhabitants, which they knew how to make the best of.

THE Enemy's Army suffered very much, not only on Account of the Snows that fell in great Abundance, but still more through a Scarcity of all Sorts of Provisions: The Peasants, who had abandoned their Villages, and were retired to Mount *Taurus*, had carried away every thing with them; so that *Myrr-Magbmud* was obliged considerably to diminish his Troops, and send some one Way and some another in Search of Provision. The Besieged perceiving this, made all on a sudden two Sallies, one with the Horse and the other

other with the Foot, and fell so smartly and so well-timed upon the Enemy, that they killed near three thousand of them. *Myrr-Magbmud* seeing himself on the Point of being surrounded and taken by the Horse, was forced to leave all his Baggage, and take to Flight with the few Soldiers he had remaining. This second Defeat, which put it out of *Myrr-Magbmud's* Power to undertake any thing, at least for some Time, threw him into such an Excess of Sorrow, that his Life was endangered thereby: Troubled for himself and all that were with him, he resolved to shut himself up, and begin the *Riadba*, or spiritual Exercises which are sometimes performed by the Mussulmans.

THESE Exercises consist in keeping themselves shut up for fourteen or fifteen Days, without eating any thing but a little Bread, or drinking any thing but Water taken up after the Setting of the Sun, and in continually repeating with a hollow Voice, fetch'd, as it were, from the Bottom of their Breasts, these Sounds, *Hou! Hou! Hou!* till they foam at the Mouth, and their Strength intirely failing them, they fall into Syncopes, or fainting Fits, which they call Extasies; and in these Extasies they pretend, the Demon who attends them is obliged, by a superior Power, to discover to them the good or ill Success of the Enterprizes they meditate: These superstitious Rites *Myrr-Magbmud* went through in the Month of *February* 1725, but drew nothing from them but a great Weakness in his Mind, and a Disposition not far from Madness.

HIS Head disordered by his long and severe Fasting, and a hypocondriac Humour predominating, his Reason was so much impaired, that he fancied he saw every Moment Persons who had Designs upon his Life; every body was suspected by him, and especially the Princes of the Blood, of whom he resolved intirely to rid himself.

THE better to execute this horrible Design, he borrowed the Assistance of some of his confident Friends, with whom, immediately after Dinner, he entered into the great Hall, where all the Princes were assembled with *Schab Hussein* their Father; and there his inhuman Fury transported him so far, that he fell, with his Sabre in Hand, upon all the Royal Family, and intirely destroyed them, except two young Princes of four or five Years of Age, whom the Fear of Death had drove into the Arms of their Father, as the last Asylum that was left them: *Schab Hussein* embraced them tenderly, and bathing them with his Tears, lifted up his Arm to ward off a Blow that the Tyrant was prepared to give them, by which Means he received a considerable Wound. The Sight of the Blood, which issued from it in Abundance, very much softened *Myrr-Magbmud*, who had no Design to hurt the Person of the King, and engaged him to spare the two young Princes to comfort his old Age. The Number of the Dead amounted to a hundred and five Persons, among whom were three Uncles of *Schab Hussein*, very much advanced in Years, and seven of his Nephews.

AFTER so horrid a Slaughter, *Myrr-Magbmud* not finding any Remedy for his Malady, that could give him Ease, caused the *Armenian* Priests to be called about him to read the Gospel upon his Head, and to engage them the more willingly, he sent them fifteen thousand *Thomans* of Gold, assuring them, that if he recovered his Health, he would restore all he had taken from them: He also made some Restitution to the *Dutch* Company; but all was taken from them again by his Successor. His Body covered over with a Leprosy, sent forth an intolerable Stench, his Flesh dropt from his Bones by Piece-Meals, and in the Excess of his Fury he tore his Hands and Arms with his Teeth, and Nature no longer able to perform her necessary Functions, he voided his Excrements at his Mouth.

THE AGHVANS seeing the Danger *Myrr-Magbmud* was in, thought of giving him a Successor; they would willingly have had his Brother, to whom the Government of *Persia* naturally devolved upon the Death of *Myrr-Magbmud*, had he been upon the Spot; but he was yet in the Province of *Candabar*: And considering the Distance between the Places, and the Badness of the Roads, it would be impossible, with all the Speed that could be made, for him to come to *Ispahan* in less than eight or ten Months, and their Necessity was very pressing; for the People informed of the miserable Condition *Myrr-Magbmud* was in, began to fear him no more, and to declare loudly in favour of Prince *Tabmaséb*: The Report even spread, that that Prince was approaching with a powerful Army; that the

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Arabs joining the *Persians*, were coming to his Assistance; and that the Towns only waited for his Arrival to submit to him.

ALL these Reports, as false as they were, intimidated the *Aghvans*, and taught them the indispensable Necessity there was of chusing, without Delay, some Man capable of supporting them under the Difficulties they were. So that in the Impossibility there was of seeing the Brother of *Myrr-Magbmud* come Time enough to take his Place, they turned their Eyes upon his Cousin German, named *Eschereff*, who was at that Time in Prison, for the Reason we shall relate.

THE deplorable Situation of *Schah Hussain's* Affairs towards the End of the Siege of *Ispahan*, when he put his Crown and Sceptre into the Hands of *Myrr-Magbmud*, touched every one with Compassion; even the Enemy, sensible of his Misfortunes, could not refrain from Tears; but *Eschereff*, as we have already observed, was one of those who seemed the most moved, and used all his Endeavours to engage *Myrr-Magbmud* to receive the unfortunate Princes in a Manner less haughty and barbarous. The Freedom with which he spoke on this Occasion, rendered him suspected by *Myrr-Magbmud*, who at first dissembled his Resentment, but afterwards caused him to be seized, and clapt up in Prison.

THE AGHVANS getting together, at the Time we are speaking of, and taking up their Arms, went and released *Eschereff* from his Confinement; and having conducted him to the Royal Palace, caused him to mount the

the Throne, and saluted him as King of *Persia*.

ESCHEREFF, to maintain himself in this high Dignity, to which he was raised beyond his Expectation, began his Reign with cutting off the Head of *Myrr-Magbmud*, and those of all the Ministers who were the most attached to him; some Days after being informed of certain seditious Words spoken against him, by the Soldiers who were of *Myrr-Magbmud's* Guard, he put about five hundred of them to Death, imprisoned their Officers, and stripped them of every thing. *Zeberdels-Kan*, who had arriv'd about a Month before in Triumph from his Conquests, was preserved and supported in all his Honours and Prerogatives.

As to the *Persians*, *Eschereff* at first pretended to be favourable to them, with a Design secretly to draw Prince *Tabmasseb* into some Ambush, and by his Death to make himself the more secure upon the Throne: He thought he could not better succeed in this than by using Dissimulation, outwardly shewing a great deal of Respect for the Royal Family, and an Inclination of restoring the Crown to the *Persians* in the Person of their lawful Prince. For these Reasons, in the Beginning of his Royalty he made a Visit to *Schab Hussein*, to whom he expressed a great deal of Concern for the Cruelty that *Myrr-Magbmud* had shewn to his Children, and to give him some Comfort, he ordered their dispersed Bones to be collected together, and having caused them to be put into magnificent Coffins, sent them with a great Train,

upon Camels richly harnessed, to the City of *Kom*, which was the Place of Sepulture for the Kings of *Persia*.

He sent at the same Time costly Presents for the Mosque, where they were to be deposited, and a thousand *Thomans* to be distributed among the Poor: After which, taking his Sceptre and Crown, he went and laid them at the Feet of *Schah Hussein*, desiring him instantly to take upon him again the Government of the Kingdom, or at least to oblige Prince *Tabmasch* his Son to do it.

SCHAH HUSSEIN, to whom this Offer seemed a little suspicious, and who, very justly, feared that his Life might be in Danger, if he should imprudently shew any Desire to re-ascend the Throne, answered *Eschereff*, that he was very much obliged to him for the Zeal he expressed for his Person; but that having already voluntarily given up his Dominions and Royalty, he should never more think of resuming them; that as to his Son, he would not in any Manner meddle with his Affairs, nor endeavour to persuade him to accept of a Kingdom, which perhaps he might govern very ill; but as to that, *Eschereff* was his own Master, and might do as he should judge proper.

ESCHEREFF still concealing his bad Designs, seemed very sorry for the Resolution of *Schah Hussein*, in the mean time, that he might not be wanting in what, as he said, his Duty and Inclination both exacted from him, he sent a magnificent Embassy to Prince *Tabmasch*, with considerable Presents, and some fine Horses superbly caparisoned, inviting him

him to come and take Possession of his Dominions, and earnestly requesting him to name some Place, where they might talk together with Safety, and determine on what should be judged most convenient for both Parties. The Prince too easy to give Credit to what was pleasing to him, named himself the little Plain of *Tberan* for their Rendezvous.

ESCHEREFF, charm'd with so happy a Beginning, marched at the Head of twelve thousand Men, and being the first arrived at the Place of Appointment, he posted his Men in such a Manner, as might the most readily conduce to his Design: The Prince, who advanced only with three thousand Men, having heard, happily for him, that *Eschereff* had a great Number of Troops, began to fear and suspect him; nevertheless, not being perfectly assured, that this was Fact, in order to be thoroughly satisfied of the Truth, he sent *Affam-Kan* before him with two thousand Soldiers, and reserved only a thousand near his own Person; *Affam-Kan* being arrived, and perceiving not only the great Number of *Agbuans*, but that all the Posts were guarded so, as easily to surround the Prince, he immediately gave him Notice of the Danger that threatened him, and advised him to provide, as soon as possible, for the Safety of his Life by Flight, and indeed it was high Time; for *Eschereff* having learnt by his Spies, of the near Approach of the Prince, he ordered two thousand five hundred *Agbuans* to go privately behind a little Hill to cut off his Retreat, and render it impossible for him to escape: They were upon the Point

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of falling upon him, and seizing him, when he had Notice of the Enemy's Design.

THIS unfortunate Prince seeing himself in such imminent Danger, was constrained to abandon his Troops, which there was not Time enough to get together, and take Refuge in a Hurry, with about two hundred Horse, in the City of *Tberan*.

ESCHEREFF finding his Plot was discovered, and having missed his Blow, fell upon *Assam-Kan*, who, against so great an Inequality of Numbers, defended himself courageously, and even repulsed the Enemy twice with Loss; but at length could resist him no more, when Night coming on, happily for him, he retired to join the Prince in *Tberan*. The Enemies not knowing the Roads, and fearing to enter too far into the Mountains in the Night, dared not follow him.

ASSAM-KAN, who foresaw that *Eschereff* would certainly besiege the City, when he knew the Prince had taken Refuge there, thought only how to get him out of it, as soon as possible: For this Reason, having given his Troops some Refreshment with what Speed he could, he took the Prince with him, and marched all Night; at Break of Day they found themselves six Leagues from *Tberan*, near the Province of *Mezanderan*, whither they went a few Days after. What *Assam-Kan* expected, happen'd the next Day after their Departure, and sooner than the Inhabitants of the City apprehended; for *Eschereff* imagining, that Prince *Tabmased* would not begin to march till towards the Morning,

Morning, resolved to prevent him, if he could, by investing the City before he left it.

HE forced some Peasants to conduct him to *Tberan*, where he arrived two Hours before Day; but learning that the Prince was gone out of it the Evening before, he was so enraged, that having taken the City at the first Assault, he gave Orders to his Soldiers to spare neither Man, Woman, nor Child, but to put all to the Sword.

THE Taking this City was followed by that of *Kom* and *Sava*, which two last Towns could have made a longer Resistance, if they had been furnished with Provisions; but under the Circumstances they were, they submitted after one Week's Siege, and were treated with less Cruelty than *Tberan*, the Enemy being contented with plundering their Houses, but spared the Lives of the Inhabitants.

ESCHEREFF not thinking he ought to push his Conquests any farther at this Time, with the few Troops he had, returned to *Is-pahan*, where he made an End of destroying those Nobles, whom *Myrr-Magbmud* had spared; which was done on the following Account.

THE considerable Number of Soldiers that *Eschereff* took with him, when he went to meet the Prince, made the great Men apprehend, that he had some ill Design upon him; and as this young Prince was tenderly beloved by them, they resolved to give him Notice of what passed, and to that Purpose wrote a Letter to him, which was intercepted by *Seydal*,

dal, one of the *Agbruan* Generals, and put into the Hands of *Efchereff*, who, to revenge himself on the great Men for what they had done in favour of the Prince, caused them all to be brought together into the Royal Palace, under Pretence of communicating to them some Matters of the greatest Consequence, and there ordered their Heads to be cut off, and at the same Time put out the Eyes of a young Child, whom *Myrr-Magbmud* had by the Princess *Sophia*, Daughter of *Schab Hufsein*, who, according to publick Report, underwent the same Fate; but this was afterwards contradicted.

News was impatiently expected from the Brother of *Myrr-Magbmud*, who, if he came to *Ispahan*, it was not doubted, would occasion a furious War among the *Agbruan*s, and that destroying them by little and little, might give a favourable Opportunity for *Schab Hufsein* to remount the Throne, or at least to place Prince *Tabmasch* thereon: But *Efchereff* sent such People to meet him, as he knew would prevent his proceeding too far on his Journey.

In the mean time, the neighbouring Princes bordering on *Persia*, taking Advantage of all these Troubles that desolated this vast Empire within, seiz'd on those Provinces that lay the most convenient for them.

THE RUSSIANS took *Schirvan*, one of the finest and richest Countries of *Persia*, which extends itself along the *Caspian* Sea, and is the most commodious of any for Trade: But the *Turks* pushed their Conquests the farthest;
for

for they seized, in less than two Years, of all *Georgia*, of *Erivan*, *Nakhsuan*, *Aterbejan*, *Kilan*, *Hamadan*, with their Cities, some of which resisted a long Time, especially *Tauris*, which held out vigorously, and did not surrender till it had proved the same Miseries that were felt by the City of *Ispahan*.

ALL the Conquests of the *Turks*, and the Approaches they made towards the Capital of the Kingdom, from whence they were not above five or six Days March, obliged *Eschereff*, who was not then in a Condition to resist them, to send an Embassy to the *Porte*, in the Month of *September* 1725, to demand Peace of the Grand Signior at any Price, and upon what Conditions it should please his Sublime Highness.

THE Ambassador whom *Eschereff* sent to *Constantinople*, was received with very little Respect; as he had brought no Letter for the Grand Vizier, that first Minister would not confer with him, but sent Commissaries to him. The pretended Ambassador talked with all the Haughtiness that is natural to Rebels, who are favoured by Fortune, which rendered him contemptible; and the Cause of *Eschereff* was esteemed so bad, that the Divan publickly declared him a Rebel, Infidel, and Traitor, and resolved to pursue him with Fire and Sword: Advice of this was given at the same Time to Brigadier *Romanzoff*, the Empress of *Russia*'s Minister at *Constantinople*, assuring him that the *Porte* would not only send Commissaries to settle the Limits

mits on the Frontiers of *Persia*, but that she was very well pleased to see, that the *Russians* harrassed the Troops of *Eschereff*, and concurred with her in delivering *Persia*.

The End of the Second Book.



THE



THE
HISTORY
OF
RUSSIA,

To the End of the REIGN of the
Empress CATHARINE.

BOOK III.

CONTENTS.

The Prince of Teflis puts himself under the Protection of the Russians. Advantages gain'd on the Frontiers of Persia. The Empress settles the Succession. An Idea of the Russian Clergy. The Empress establishes and opens an Academy of Sciences; augments her Marine; employs Persons to discover the North Passage to China. The Situation of Affairs in Europe. The Emperor of Germany accedes to the Alliance of Stockholm. The good Understanding between the two Imperial Courts. The Empress's Care of the Duke of Holstein's Affairs.



WE have seen, in the last Book, the Enemy whom the *Russians* had to make Head against them on the Borders of the *Caspian Sea*, where already a great Progress had been made under the late Emperor *PETER*, of immortal Memory.

mory. In the Beginning of the Reign of *Catharine*, the Prince of *Teflis* not only submitted to this Empress, but came to *Petersburg* with all his Family with an Intention to embrace the *Greek* Religion: The Empress ordered a most pompous Reception to be given him; a Yacht and two Gallies went to meet him, as far as the Monastery of *St. Alexander Newski*; the Officer who had the Command of these three Vessels, made him a Compliment on the Part of the Empress, before he receiv'd him on board; and as soon as he entered the Yacht, he was saluted by a general Discharge of all their Guns, and met with the same Salute as he passed by the Arsenal. When he landed at the Post-Office, he found a magnificent Coach with six Horses ready to attend him, with six Men on Foot followed by twelve Horsemen; there were ten other Coaches and twenty led Horses, for his Train: He met with a Guard at the Palace designed for him, and was feasted for several Days by Order of the Court. At length the Empress, in settling a Pension upon him suitable to his Rank, and the Advantage she expected from his Submission, gave him the Title of *Magnanimous Prince*.

THE Emperor *Peter* had left his Troops in *Georgia* under the Command of General *Mattuskin*, to whom that Country was very well known, and who made great Advantages of that Knowledge. In the Month of *June*, he twice beat the assembled Troops of the neighbouring Princes; first in the Plain of *Koschomodan*, and afterwards in that of *Temmin*, where he took all their Artillery and Baggage

gage from them: But the chief Advantage he got was over the *Tartars* of *Dagestan*, to whom several Princes round about had join'd themselves. The Generals *Czeremetoff* and *Kropotoff* led against them fifteen thousand regular Troops, and gained a complete Victory: One of the Princes of the Mountains, and four principal Officers, with some thousand Soldiers, were killed; they took several Prisoners, three Pieces of Cannon, and obliged the rest of the Enemy's Army to save themselves in the Mountains. The principal Fruit of this Victory was the Taking of *Tarku* and twenty Villages dependent upon it, containing above six thousand Houses and four hundred Mills. The Town of *Tarku* is situated on the *Caspian* Sea but eighteen Leagues from *Derbent*, and twenty from *Terki*.

BEFORE the End of the Year 1725, the Empress undertook two remarkable Affairs; the first was, in Imitation of the late Emperor, to make a Disposition for settling the Succession to the Crown, for fear Providence should take her out of the World before she had regulated a Matter of such Importance; nevertheless this wise Precaution gave Rise to some Murmurings, malign Reflections, and even Pasquinades, which caused her Imperial Czarish Majesty to publish afresh the Ordinance made by *Peter* concerning the Succession; and by Consent of the Clergy and Senate, a Treatise was printed and put forth, intituled, *The Right of the Sovereign to the Nomination of a Successor*. Some seditious Spirits took Occasion from hence, to drop Writings about the Streets in the Night, which

The Empress publishes an Ordinance relating to the Succession of the Crown.

For which she is libell'd; but does not deign to take Notice of it.

criticized

criticized on this Ordinance and on her Majesty's Disposition. As the *Russian* Government is intirely despotick, and the Sovereigns obliged to render no Account of their Actions to any whomsoever, those who have imbibed any Notions of Liberty, either in their Travels, or in their Conversation with Foreigners, have Recourse to this secret Way of publishing their Sentiments of what passes in the State. Her Majesty did not deign to inquire after the Authors of them; conscious of her own Merit she feared no Remarks on her Actions.

Proceeds according to an Ordinance of the late Emperor, to inquire into the Revenues of the Clergy.

THIS Princess had another Affair on her Hands much more difficult to execute than this, which was an Ordinance of the late Emperor's, to inquire into the Ecclesiastical Revenues, and set some Bounds to the Avarice of the Clergy. There is not perhaps any Nation under the Sun more subjugated than the *Russians* to the Will and Direction of their Clergy, which is not to be wondered at; for as the People are very simple in their Manners, very ignorant, and accustomed to Submission, they receive without Contradiction, and even without any Examination, all that is prescribed to them by their Priests, who have oftentimes no other Talents than barely to know how to read and write; but as they are naturally cunning, they make use of all their Skill in that to make their own Condition as happy as possible, by taking Advantage of the blind Obedience, the Superstition and Ignorance of the People; it is by these, that the Clergy procure such prodigious Revenues for themselves, which, as penetrating

as the Emperor PETER was, he could never come to an exact Knowledge of. To avoid the Inquiry so much dreaded by the Clergy, they offered the Empress a free Gift, provided the Design might be dropt.

THE Growth of Science was likewise as much feared by them; for as the Clouds of Ignorance were dispelled, Superstition, that profitable Resource of the Clergy, must also disappear, especially in a Nation where there are Geniuses to be found, capable of making the greatest Progress therein, for it cannot be denied, that the *Russians* have Parts; and it has been seen, that those who have applied themselves to Arts and Sciences, since the Encouragement given thereto by the immortal PETER, have done it with Success; and, assiduous as they are, nothing escapes them, provided they have the least Insight into it. It was with this Prospect, that their great Emperor began to form an Academy of Sciences before his Death, upon the Model of that at *Paris*; but it was not established but under the Empress CATHARINE, in the Beginning of the Year 1726, when she caused the publick Assemblies to be opened in the Presence of the Court, the Senate, the Synod, the foreign Ministers, and all the Persons of Distinction at *Petersburgh*. M. *Bulfinger*, Professor of *Natural Philosophy*, pronounced a Discourse that was very much applauded, upon the Question, if there were any Advances yet made in the Knowledge of the Load-stone and the Needle, for the Discovery of the Longitude.

*Establishes the
Academy of
Sciences at PE-
TERSBURGH.*

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THIS Academy was composed of fifteen Professors, famous through all *Europe*: Mess. *Herman, Nicholas Bernouilli, de Lisle* and *Goldbach*, for the Mathematics; M. *Lentman*, for Mechanicks; M. *Bulfinger*, for Natural Philosophy; Mess. *Martini* and *Mayer*, for *Esticks*, or Moral Philosophy; Mess. *Honinger, du Vernoy, Bruiber* and *Daniel Bernouilli*, for Physick; Mess. *Groß, Kobl, Bayer* and *Beckenstein*, for History, Antiquities, and the *Belles Lettres*. The Empress put this Academy on a Footing to make it become one of the most celebrated in *Europe*, and at the same Time to render those Services to the Nation, which were intended by its Establishment.

THERE were yet two more important Projects of the late Emperor to be executed, which were the Augmentation of the Marine, and the Discovery of a Passage by the North of *Tartary*, to *Japan, China*, and consequently to all the *Indies*, both East and West.

*Improve: her
Marine.*

As to the first, the Empress succeeded therein, as far as the Circumstances she was in would permit of, having brought the *Russian Fleet* to fifty Ships of the Line, well provided with all their Rigging, not to reckon forty Frigates, besides Gallies, Galliot, and a great Number of flat Boats, which are very useful in the *Baltick*, as well for Coasting as for Disembarkments.

THE Pains taken by the *Dutch* and their *East-India Company*, to discover a Passage by the North to *China* and the *Indies*, are very well known; they have ineffectually employed, at different Times, their best Pilots, but could never penetrate beyond *Nova Zembla*, which

which they discovered on this Occasion, and to the North of which *Hemskerck* passed the Winter of the Year 1596, in the Hopes of getting farther at the Return of the Sun: The *Engliff* oftentimes made the same Attempt with no better Success; so that it was concluded, that the Streights of *Waigats* or *Nassaw* could be no other than a Gulph: Those who took their Way to the North of *Zembla*, were not able to support the Cold, nor double the Mountains of Ice; but every one had observed, that the farther they advanced towards the East, the less they were embarrassed by the Ice, which Observation the Emperor PETER thought he should make advantageous to him. Indeed, if there is any Monarch in a Condition to make this useful Discovery, it is that of *Russia*, whose Dominions penetrating, if I may so say, even to the Pole, are bounded on that Side by the *Ice Sea* and *Polar Lands*: As this Monarchy is Master of all *Tartary* towards the North, it is easier for that than any other, to examine the Coasts, and follow them as far as the Land of *Jesso*; but the many Affairs PETER had upon his Hands, would not permit him to go through with this Undertaking, and the short Reign of the Empress CATHARINE gave her not the Satisfaction to see the Success of it.

It is not necessary to enlarge in this Place upon the Advantages, that the *Russians* would gain by a Discovery of this Passage, which would open to them an easy Way to *Japan*, *China*, and to all the Countries beyond the *Ganges*. With what Difficulties, Dangers and

Expenditure are the Caravans obliged to cross deep Rivers, vast Deserts and thro' Nations, where the People are naturally given to Theft and Plundering! A Port made at the Mouth of the *Lena*, in the Country of *Yakuti*, might prove the Staple of all the Riches of the East. What a Source of Wealth would this be for *Russia*! It is easy to imagine, what would be the Consequences of this Discovery, and with what a jealous Eye it must be seen by other Nations. Be that as it might, the Empress CATHARINE resolved to set her Hand to the Work, and sent Captain *Buring*, an experienced Officer, with a good Number of Sailors, Rowers, Pilots, and all other Sorts of Men, who might be useful in the Enterprize, to embark at *Kamzjaka*, or *Kameitka*, a good Port, situated near two hundred Leagues beyond the *Lena*, in the Country of *Anadirskoi*, and under the sixtieth Degree of North Latitude, to discover if the Chain of high Mountains, which seem to form a long Promontory projecting into the *Tartarian* Sea, does not make an Isthmus, which may join the Continent with the Polar Lands; or if they are really a Promontory that might be occupied. But this Princess died before she received any News from Captain *Buring*, which is not to be wondered at, considering this Port is more than five hundred Leagues from *Petersburgh*, and that he was to make his Journey by Land, cross several Provinces little furnished with Necessaries, without reckoning the Time that must be taken up in building Vessels at *Kameitka*, where it was to be doubted if he could find any, at least such as he should want,

*Carries on the
Project of dis-
covering the
North East
Passage to
CHINA.*

WHILE

WHILE the Empress CATHARINE employed herself intirely in these Affairs, as necessary as profitable, a Leven began to ferment in the other Parts of *Europe*, which seemed to threaten an approaching and bloody War. The Breaking up of the fruitless Congress of *Cambray* had been closely followed by a Treaty of Peace, another of Alliance, and a third of Commerce, between the Imperial Court and that of *Spain*. Some of the Powers of *Europe*, especially those who had the greatest Share in Trade, thought themselves hurt by this last Treaty, whereby *Spain* not only guarantied the Establishment made about two Years before, in the *Austrian Netherlands*, of a Company trading to the *Indies*, but even granted to the Subjects of the Emperor sailing thither, some Advantages which had been already yielded to different Nations, exclusive of all others. The Discontents of these Powers naturally united their Interests, which was the Occasion of the Treaty of defensive Alliance, concluded at *Hanover* on the 3d of *September* 1725, between the Kings of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Prussia*, in which it was expressly stipulated, that the Republick of the *United Provinces* should be invited to accede to it. The sole End of this Treaty was to support the allied Powers in the Possession of their Rights, especially those relating to Trade, upon which the Treaty of *Vienna* seemed to incroach; nevertheless, no particular Right nor any Power was specified.

THESE two Treaties, that is to say, that of *Vienna* and that of *Hanover*, divided, or seemed likely to divide all *Europe* into two

Parties, by the Endeavours used by the Powers engaged in those two Alliances, to draw into their contrary Interests all the Potentates, who had no Share in concluding them.

THE Powers in the Alliance of *Vienna* acknowledged, that that of *Hanover* was purely defensive, as was declared by the King of *Spain* to the States General of the *United Provinces*, by his Ambassador, the Marquis de *St. Philip*, in these Terms; * *These sincere Expressions are founded on the Persuasion, which his Catholick Majesty has, that the Treaty of Hanover has no other Object in view, but the Peace of Europe.* On the other Side, the Powers engaged in the *Hanover* Treaty, before they had any Knowledge of the Nature of the Treaty of *Vienna*, conceived a real Joy at the Peace concluded between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, and complimented them upon it: But afterwards the Powers on each Side began to consider one another as tacit Enemies, and to take Measures as if they were upon the Point of declaring War. From hence those Communications of Treaties made at different Courts, which were invited to accede to them, and those many Negotiations so earnestly set on Foot.

THE Allies of *Hanover* in the first Place invited the States General of the *United Provinces* to accede to their Alliance, as a Party very much interested in the Preservation of the Rights of Commerce, hurt by the Grant
made

* *Estas sinceras expresiones se fundan en estar S. M. persuadido, que el tratado de Hanover no tiene por objeto mas que la Paz de la Europa.*

made to the *Ostend* Company, and by several Articles of the Treaty of *Vienna*, especially the II^d, III^d, XXXVIth, and XLVIIth. They afterwards invited the Kings of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Sardinia*, to accede to it, as the particular Allies of the Kings of *France* and *Great Britain*; so that the Allies of *Vienna* had only *Poland*, *Russia*, and some Princes of the Empire and *Italy*, left to engage in their Alliance: These, that is, the Allies of *Vienna*, had recourse to two Methods; they invited some to accede to their Alliance, and used all their Endeavours to dissuade others from listening to the Instances that were made on the Part of *Great Britain* and *France*.

SWEDEN, who had made her Peace with *Russia* at *Niesbade* or *Nieuwstadt* on the 30th of *August* 1721, had confirmed that Treaty by another of Alliance with the same Empire, concluded at *Stockholm* on the 4th of *March* 1724, wherein it was stipulated, that all the Powers should be invited to accede to it, to whom it should be agreeable; and the Emperor *Charles VI.* had been really invited on both Sides to accede to it. There were in this Treaty of *Stockholm* Stipulations in favour of the Duke of *Holfstein's* Pretensions to the Restitution of the Duchy of *Sleswick*, guarantied to the King of *Denmark* by the King of *Great Britain*, on the Acquisition he gained of *Bremen* and *Verden*, and whilst the Congress of *Cambray* yet existed. The Emperor having a real Interest to manage with the King of *Great Britain*, who was Mediator there, the Imperial Court thought it not proper at that Time

to answer to the Invitations made her by those of *Russia* and *Sweden*; but after the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Hanover*, the Imperial Ministers caused that Invitation to be reviv'd, and made use of it to draw those two Crowns indirectly into the Alliance of *Vienna*. This Negotiation was entered into with M. *Lanscinski*, the Empress *Catharine's* Minister at *Vienna*, and with the Count *de Tessin*, the Minister of *Sweden*, who had some Inclination to the Interests of the Duke of *Holstein*. The Powers of *Europe*, who had forgot the Invitation of 1724, to which the Imperial Court then gave no Attention, were alarmed at a Negotiation pushing on with Vigour, and which they had no Knowledge of; but it remained not long a Secret; the Offer that the Imperialists made to *Sweden* to accede to the Treaty of 1724, at the Time that the Ministers of *England*, *France* and *Prussia* invited that Crown to accede to the Treaty of *Hanover*, blew up this Mine. The Crown of *Sweden* could not well reject this Accession after they had demanded it, altho' the Circumstances of Affairs were altered; therefore Count *Tessin* negotiated in Consequence of the former Instructions given to his Predecessors, and the Accession was concluded without much Difficulty on the Part of this *Swedish* Minister; the Chamberlain *Lanscinski* was as easily brought into it; and so the following Convention was signed.

“ **I** *N the Name of the most Holy Trinity,*
Be it known to all and every one
whom it may concern, that a Treaty of de-
fensive

senfive Alliance between the Courts of *Sweden* and *Russia* having been signed at *Stockholm* on the 22d of *February* 1724, the Ministers of those Courts at that Time, resident at the Court of *Vienna*, invited his Imperial and Catholick Majesty to enter into this Treaty of Alliance, and into the secret Article, tending to confirm the publick Repose and Tranquillity, and to assist the said Allies by his Succours and Counsels; his Imperial and Catholick Majesty having always had at Heart the publick Tranquillity of *Europe* in general, and that of the North in particular, has for a long Time resolved to enter into this defensive Alliance; therefore his Imperial and Catholick Majesty, moved thereto by his Attachment and sincere Attention to the Interests of the Universe, and in particular of the North, favourably received this amicable Invitation; insomuch, that he has for a long Time resolved to accede to the said Treaty, as if he had been at first one of the high contracting Parties: For this Reason, his Imperial and Catholick Majesty has sent the necessary full Powers to his underwritten Privy Counsellors, to treat conformably to this Resolution of his Accession, with the Ministers of the aforesaid Courts, provided also with Instructions and the necessary full Powers, and in Consequence thereof to prepare an Instrument or Act in the Forms to which the respective Plenipotentiaries are to agree, after having conferred together, and exchanged their full Powers.

THE Ministers Plenipotentiaries of his Imperial and Catholick Majesty declare, certify and

and promise in his Name, that his said Imperial and Catholick Majesty, for himself, and for his lawful Heirs and Successors, takes Part and enters into the said Treaty of Alliance of *Stockholm*, and into the private Article; that his Imperial and Catholick Majesty, as *Pars compaciscens*, joins and allies himself, by the present Act of Accession, with their confederated Majesties of *Sweden* and *Russia*, and that he obliges and engages himself to them, and their lawful Heirs and Successors, as well in common as in particular, to observe and execute the Conditions, Clauses and Agreements of this Alliance, all in general and each in particular, such as they are contained and expressed in the said Treaty, and in the secret Article, and this for all the Kingdoms, Countries and Lordships that he possesses; and if the *Casus Federis*, or any other Case requiring the Execution of his Promise, and of the Guaranty stipulated in this Treaty, should happen, to furnish twelve thousand Foot Soldiers and four thousand Horse; and as to Ships, to agree to a Compensation for them; all which his Imperial and Catholick Majesty promises to execute in the same Manner, and with the same Exactness, Fidelity and Sincerity, as if he had been from the Beginning one of the contracting Parties, and as if he had concluded and signed the said Conditions, Promises and Articles with the said two allied Powers, or with each of them separately.

LIKEWISE on the other Part, the Plenipotentiaries of their *Swedish* and *Russian* Majesties have in their Name admitted, received, and comprized his Imperial and Catholick Majesty

Majesty in the full and intire Alliance of the Treaty of *Stockholm*, and the secret Article; and by Virtue of the present Treaty do admit, receive and comprize his Imperial and Catholick Majesty, his legitimate Heirs and Successors, promising that their said two Majesties, and each of them in particular, will cause his said Imperial and Catholick Majesty to enjoy all the Advantages of the said Treaty, &c.

THE secret Article mentioned in this Convention related to the Duke of *Holstein*; and it would not be departing from Truth to affirm, that this secret Article, or rather the Interests in general of that Prince, gave Motion to this whole Affair, and determined the Empress CATHARINE to enter into the Designs of the Court of *Vienna*, which by this Treaty was obliged to support the Steps that should be taken to obtain the Restitution of the Duchy of *Sleswick*.

THE Court of *Sweden*, which had not the same Views with that of *Russia*, or to speak more properly, that had those that were quite contrary, did not so readily ratify this Act of the Emperor's Accession, and at last not without great Modifications and Restrictions. But if the Empress, persuaded by the Duke of *Holstein* and by Count *Bassewitz* his first Minister, took this Step so easily, the *Russian* Ministers put a Check to this great Zeal afterwards by opposing the Interests of *Russia* to those of *Holstein*. We have observed before, that the Accession of the Emperor to the Treaty of *Stockholm* could not be considered but as a first Step to engage *Russia* and *Sweden*, if possible,

sible, in other Measures. In effect, her Imperial Czarish Majesty had no sooner ratified this Accession, but the Imperial Ministers in their Turn proposed to her to accede to the Treaty of *Vienna*.

THIS Affair was of great Importance, therefore did not go on so hastily as the Emperor's Ministers desired: The Empress CATHARINE by this Accession might engage *Russia* in a War with *France* and *Great Britain*, and perhaps with *Sweden*, *Denmark* and the *United Provinces*, without her foreseeing any Advantages to be drawn from it, but to find her Ports shut up or abandoned, her Commerce destroyed, or at least suspended. These Considerations carried the Negotiations into a great Length, and obliged the Court of *Vienna* to send Count *Rabutin* to *Petersburgh*, who had been recalled for this Purpose from the Court of *Prussia*, in order to remove all Difficulties: This Minister was at first received very coolly; but at length knowing how to insinuate himself by boasting of the good Intentions of his Imperial Majesty his Master, and by bringing some other Helps from the Court of *Spain*; where the Duke *de Ripperda*, at that Time his Catholick Majesty's first Minister, explained himself to Prince *Galiczin* in a Manner so pathetic and persuasive, that he was near surmounting all Obstacles on the Arrival of one *Lambilli*, when the Disgrace of the Duke *de Ripperda* preventing *Lambilli's* coming any farther than *Amsterdam*, it was apprehended, that the whole Negotiation was overthrown. Nevertheless the Imperial Minister not losing his

his Courage returned to the Charge, and was so powerfully seconded by the Ministers of *Holstein*, that the Empress consented not only to accede to the Treaty of *Vienna*, but to enter into an Alliance in Form with the Emperor; of which the following is the Treaty.

“ **I***N the Name of God, Amen.* The publick Repose and Welfare of all *Europe* requiring, that the ancient Friendship that has constantly subsisted between the Predecessors of his sacred Imperial and Royal Catholick Majesty, and her sacred Imperial Majesty of all *Russia*, should be renewed, and more strictly cemented by a new Alliance; his Imperial and Catholick Majesty, as Sovereign of Kingdoms and hereditary Provinces, and her Imperial Majesty of all *Russia*, to advance so salutary a Work, have chosen their underwritten Plenipotentiary Ministers, that is to say, his Imperial and Catholick Majesty his Highness Prince *Eugene of Savoy and Piemont*, actual and intimate Counsellor of his Imperial and Catholick Majesty, President of his Council of War, his Lieutenant Velt Marechal General of the *Holy Roman Empire*, and Vicar General of his Kingdoms and States in *Italy*, Knight of the Golden Fleece; the most illustrious and most excellent *Philip-Lewis*, hereditary Treasurer of the *Holy Roman Empire*, Count of *Sintzendorf*, Baron of *Irnsbrun*, Lord of *Gfoell*, *Selowitz*, *Porlitz*, *Cariswald*, *Stecken*, *Sbrifentz*, &c. the most illustrious and most excellent *Gundacre*, *Thomas of Stabrenberg*, Count of the *Holy Roman Empire*, of *Schaumburg*, *Waxenberg*, &c. the most illustrious and most excellent

The Treaty of Alliance between the Empress of Russia, and the Emperor of Germany.

The History of RUSSIA.

excellent *Ernest* of *Windisgratz*, Count of the *Holy Roman Empire*, Baron of *Wallenstein* and of *Walle*, hereditary Master of the Horse of *Stiria*, Knight of the Golden Fleece, &c. and the most illustrious and most excellent *Frederick-Charles*, Count of *Schonborn*, *Bucbeim* and *Wolffsthal*, Baron of the *Holy Roman Empire*, of *Reichelberg*, and Count of *Wiesenheid*, &c. And on the Part of her Imperial Majesty of all *Russia*, the most illustrious *Lewis Lanscinski*, her Chamberlain, and Minister of her Imperial Court; having ordered them to act in Concert, to treat and sign the Alliance proposed, who, after having had several Conferences, deliberated the Affairs on both Sides, and communicated their full Powers, have agreed to the following Articles and Conditions.

I. THERE shall be and continue between his sacred Imperial and Catholick Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and her sacred Majesty of all *Russia*, her Heirs and Successors, a true, perpetual and constant Friendship, and it shall be so sincerely cultivated between them, that each shall endeavour to procure the Advantage of the other, and to prevent any Damage being done to either Party, that they shall act in Concert in every Measure that may tend to their common Benefit, and turn all their Views to establish such a happy Peace in *Europe*, as may be preserved and continued.

II. FOR as much as his sacred Imperial and Catholick Majesty has acceded to the Treaty of Peace concluded at *Niestadt* on the 30th of *August* 1722, between the Crowns of *Russia* and

and *Sweden*; likewise to the Alliance between the said Crowns, concluded at *Stockholm* on the 22d of *February* 1724, and the contracting Parties proposing to tie the Knot of their Friendship more firmly by the present Alliance, to this End her Majesty of all *Russia* accedes to the Treaty of Peace concluded at *Vienna* on the 30th of *April* 1725, between his Imperial and Catholick Majesty and the most Serene King of *Spain*, *Philip V.* and engages herself, and promises to maintain and guaranty this Treaty of Peace in all its Articles and Conditions, in the same Manner and with the same Obligation, as if she had been from the Beginning of the Treaty one of the contracting Parties, and that with respect to all the Kingdoms and all the Provinces actually possessed by his Imperial and Catholick Majesty, for himself and for his Successors, and of which the Possession has been confirmed to him, according to the Tenor of the XIIth Article of the said Peace: So that if it should happen, on Account of this Peace concluded with the King of *Spain*, or for any other Reason whatsoever, that his Imperial and Catholick Majesty should be attacked by any one whomsoever, or that any thing should be undertaken to his Prejudice, in this Case her Majesty of all *Russia* promises and engages herself to send most exactly to his Imperial and Catholick Majesty, not only the Succours stipulated below in the VIth Article of this Alliance, but also, if Affairs and Necessity require it, to declare War with the Aggressor, to act in Concert against the said Aggressor, by the way of Arms, and not to
make

make Peace with him without having first obtained Reparation for the Injustice and Damages committed, and without the intire Consent of his Imperial and Catholick Majesty.

III. ON the other Side, his Imperial and Catholick Majesty reciprocally promises, and takes upon him the Guaranty of all the Kingdoms, Provinces and States possessed in *Europe* by her Majesty of all *Russia*; and if her Majesty of all *Russia*, for any Cause whatsoever, should be attacked hastily by any one, that then his Imperial and Catholick Majesty reciprocally promises, not only to send the Succours below stipulated in the VIth Article of this Treaty, but also, Affairs and Necessity requiring it, to declare War with the Aggressor, to act in common Consent, and not to make Peace without having obtained Satisfaction for Damages, and without an intire Approbation of her Majesty of all *Russia*.

IV. IN Virtue of this Confederation and Amity, the contracting Powers promise to recommend seriously to their Ministers residing in the Courts of foreign Princes, to confer amicably together on the Affairs that shall present themselves to them, and jointly assist one another in supporting their mutual Interests, and to work in common in all things that shall seem for the Advantage of their Principals.

V. NEITHER of the two contracting Parties shall grant a Refuge, nor Succours, nor Protection to the other's rebel Subjects and Vassals; and if either should happen to discover any Designs or Machinations carrying on

on to the Disadvantage of the other, they shall immediately communicate the same in the most proper and agreeable Manner, and use the utmost Efforts of their Alliance to prevent and disappoint them.

VI. WITH regard to the mutual Succours that are to be given, it is agreed, that the Emperor, in case any one under what Pretext soever, shall make War with her Majesty of all *Russia* in those Kingdoms, Provinces and States that she possesses in *Europe*, shall send a Succour of thirty thousand Men, viz. twenty thousand Foot and ten thousand Dragoons; and her Majesty of all *Russia* promises to send the same Succour, as well of Foot as Horse, to his Imperial and Catholick Majesty in case of War. With respect to the Subsistence of the said auxiliary Troops, the contracting Parties shall immediately agree upon that between themselves.

VII. Now, as the Occasion of a War may happen, it is agreed by both Parties to drive the common Enemy out of their own Provinces, and that they shall deliberate together in what Manner that may be best effected.

VIII. If by Chance her Majesty of all *Russia* should take a Resolution to equip a Fleet of Men of War against the Enemy, and to employ it with the Consent of his Imperial and Catholick Majesty, a secure Retreat to this Fleet is promised, not only in all the Emperor's Ports, but also in all those of his Catholick Majesty, as well in the *Ocean* as in *Mediterranean*, in the Name of the most Serene King of *Spain*, who from this Day will fully accede to this Treaty, and who for that

Purpose has given Instructions to his Minister at *Vienna*.

IX. As the Peace, Tranquillity and Safety of the Kingdom and Republick of *Poland* are very dear to his Imperial and Catholick Majesty, it has been agreed to invite the King and Kingdom of *Poland* to accede to this Alliance.

X. But if the Kingdom of *Poland* should not accede to it, nevertheless the King of *Poland*, as Elector of *Saxony*, shall, by Consent of the most Serene contracting Powers, be amicably invited thereto.

XI. And as the Peace between the King and Kingdom of *Sweden*, and between the King and Kingdom of *Poland*, is not yet entirely well confirm'd, (which nevertheless may be done by the Mediation of her Imperial Majesty of all *Russia*) his Imperial and Catholick Majesty will willingly employ his good Offices, that so salutary a Work may be perfectly accomplished by the Mediation of her Imperial Majesty of all *Russia*, according to the Tenor of the Peace of *Niessadt*.

XII. With respect to the most Serene Prince the Duke of *Sleswick-Holstein*, his Imperial and Catholick Majesty declares and promises to do what his Royal Highness desires, and to which he is engaged as a Guarantee, by Virtue of the Treaty of *Travendal*, as well with regard to the most Serene King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, as to other Kings and foreign Princes, who are charged with the same Guaranty of the said Treaty; and as there is made a particular Convention by the contracting Parties on this Subject, it shall

be looked upon as if inserted in the present Treaty.

XIII. ONE Year's Time is given to all those, who shall be willing to accede to this Treaty of Alliance.

XIV. THE present Treaty shall be ratified by the contracting Princes within the Space of three Months, and the Ratifications shall be exchanged at *Vienna* in the usual Manner.

IN Confidence of which the above-mentioned Ministers Plenipotentiaries have sign'd with their own Hands the present Act, drawn up in two Copies of the same Tenor, and have set the Seal of their Arms thereto. Done at *Vienna* the 6th of August 1726, &c.

IN Consequence of this Treaty, her Imperial Czarish Majesty sent Orders to her Ministers at foreign Courts, to act in Concert with the Ministers of the Emperor in all that concerned the Alliance of *Vienna* and that of *Hanover*: The *Russian* Ministers immediately declared themselves against this last Alliance, and used their Endeavours to traverse the last Steps to be taken by the Powers who were interested in it. Count *Gollowin* in *Sweden*, Count *Goloffskin* at *Berlin*, and his Brother at the *Hague*, shewed their Zeal and Obedience to her Czarish Majesty's Orders; the first and the last by endeavouring to hinder, or at least retard the Accession of those States to the Treaty of *Hanover*: From hence the Memorials that they presented in Concert with the Imperial Ministers, both at the *Hague* and at *Stockholm*, wherein, however, they spoke a very different Language; for at the *Hague*, they did not oppose the Alliance of *Hanover*,

but as it might be prejudicial to the Interests of the Duke of *Holftein*. It may be asked, perhaps, how this Alliance had any Relation to the Affairs of *Holftein*, according to the Idea we have before given of them? It was thus.

THE King of *Denmark* having taken the Duchy of *Bremen* and *Verden* from *Sweden* in the Year 1712, and the Duchy of *Slefwick* from the Duke of *Holftein* in 1713: The first of these States was very commodious for the Elector of *Hanover*, and the King of *Denmark* foresaw very well, that when a Peace was made with *Sweden*, he should be obliged to restore it; for this Reason, the Elector having proposed to purchase his Right of Conquest, the Agreement was soon made, and the King having receiv'd seven hundred thousand Rix-Dollars, *Stade* and *Verden* were put into the Hands of the *Hanoverians*.

THIS new Aggrandizement of the House of *Hanover* did not please the Imperial Court, although the Emperor had Interests to manage with the King of *Great Britain*; and on the other hand, the Crown of *Sweden* had renounced these Duchies in a Treaty of Peace made with the Elector of *Hanover*, by which she received a Million of Rix-Dollars for this Cession; yet the Emperor could not hitherto consent to give the Elector of *Hanover* the Investiture of those States, notwithstanding he had given the Duke of *Holftein* the Investiture of his. The Obligation there was to preserve the Possession of the Duchy of *Bremen* and *Verden* on one Side, and for the Preservation of the Duchy of *Slefwick* on the other,

other, established the Relation that was found between the Alliance of *Hanover* and the Affairs of the North; and so much the more, as the King of *Denmark* shewed a Disposition, if not to accede to this Alliance, at least to make a Treaty with the Crowns of *France* and *Great Britain*.

WHAT we have just said, with respect to the Interest of the Duke of *Holstein* is so true, that Count *Goleffskin* alledged nothing else in the following Memorial that he presented to the States General of the *United Provinces*, on the 11th of *June* 1726.

“ THE underwritten Minister Plenipoten- Count Go-
tiary of her Imperial Majesty of all *Russia*, LOFFSKIN
does himself the Honour to represent to your *the RUSSIAN*
High Mightinesses, that her Imperial Maje- *Minister's Me-*
sty, his most gracious Sovereign, seeing the *memorial, pre-*
strict Alliance there is between her and his *sented to the*
Royal Highness the Duke of *Sleswick-Holstein*, STATES GE-
cannot dispense with her not protecting his *NERAL.*
said Royal Highness in his just Pretensions,
and recommending his Interests where she
judges it may be convenient so to do.

HER Imperial Majesty persuades herself,
with Reason, that the most Serene House of
Gottorp has always behaved towards the Re-
publick in such a Manner, that your High
Mightinesses will the more readily take his In-
terests to Heart, and that you will not enter
with other Powers into any Engagement that
may be prejudicial thereto, or be contrary to
the Guaranty promised by the Treaty of *Tra-*
vendal; this her Imperial Majesty is the more
persuaded of, from that Love of Justice and
the

the publick Tranquillity, of which your High Mightinesses have given so many shining Proofs.

THE underwritten Minister Plenipotentiary has precise Orders from her Imperial Majesty to assure your High Mightinesses of the Continuance of her sincere Friendship, and of her Attachment to this Republick, and that she shall look upon any Favour shewn by your High Mightinesses to the House of *Gos- torp*, as done to herself.

HER Imperial Majesty likewise on her Side will not fail to contribute all that is in her Power, to maintain the good Understanding, which has so long subsisted between her Empire and this Republick, and to favour every thing that may be for the reciprocal Advantage of their Subjects.

THE underwritten does not doubt but that your High Mightinesses will answer in the most favourable Manner, in this Respect, to the Opinion her Imperial Majesty has conceived of your good Intentions. *Done at the Hague the 11th of June 1726.*"

COUNT FLOHR, the Duke of *Holftein's* Minister at the *Hague*, before this, had presented the following Memorial in the Month of *April*.

"The underwritten Envoy Extraordinary from his Royal Highness the Duke of *Sleswick-Holftein*, has the Honour to represent to your High Mightinesses, by express Order of his most Serene Master, that being informed that some of the Provinces have acceded to the Treaty of *Hanover* concluded between *France, England and Prussia*, his Royal Highness

ness flatters himself, that your Noble Mightinesses will not enter into any Engagement that may prejudice him, or retard the Restitution of his Duchy of *Sleswick*.

ALL EUROPE perfectly well knows the crying Injustice that has been done to his Royal Highness by the Detention of his hereditary Duchy, which was taken from him under captious Pretences, and during his Minority.

YOUR Noble Mightinesses knowing the Attachment that the House of *Gottorp* has always had to this Republick, his Royal Highness hopes, from the Justice and Equity of your Noble Mightinesses, that the Measures taken, or that may hereafter be taken with other Powers, are not, nor ever will be prejudicial to his Interests, and that your Noble Mightinesses, always attentive to the publick Repose, and inviolable in your Engagements, will remember the Guaranties, which are solemn Promises made by the Treaties of *Alsen* and *Travendal*, and that you will maintain them.

HIS Royal Highness, persuaded of the good Intentions of your High Mightinesses, will be always ready to contribute all that may be in his Power for the Advantage of the Republick, and ardently wishes that your High Mightinesses may give him an Opportunity at this Time, that may convince you of the Sincerity of his Sentiments.

THE underwritten hopes your High Mightinesses will take a favourable Resolution, that will satisfy his Royal Highness of your good Intentions."

THE States General answered the Minister of *Russia*, that they should always have a very great Regard to the Recommendations of her Imperial Majesty, particularly those in favour of a Prince so nearly allied to her Majesty as the Duke of *Holstein*, for whom they had always had much Esteem and Affection; that their High Mightinesses had shewn, when the Treaty of *Travendal* was concluded, how much they were inclined to contribute to the Advancement of the Interests of the House of *Gottorp*; that although since the Treaty of *Travendal* several things had passed, in which their High Mightinesses had no Part, they had nevertheless always preserved, and would still preserve the same Inclination to give his said Highness the Duke of *Holstein* Proofs of their Friendship, as much as the Times and the Situation of Affairs would permit; that their High Mightinesses desiring nothing more ardently, than that Peace and Tranquillity should be preserved in *Europe*, they had entered into no Engagements, and had no Intention to enter into any that might be contrary thereto, or that might be prejudicial to any one whomsoever, much less to her Imperial Majesty or the Duke of *Holstein*, with whom they had the Honour to live in Friendship; their Custom not being to enter into any Engagements, but such as tended to the Preservation of their Liberty, their Rights and Possessions, and those of their Allies: For the rest, their High Mightinesses were very much obliged to her Imperial Majesty, for the fresh Assurances that she had been pleased to give them by Count *Goloffskin*,

Goloffkin, of her Affection for the Republick; they besought her Majesty to continue it, and said, that their High Mightinesses on their Side should always shew the high Esteem they had for her, and their sincere Intention to cultivate and augment the good Understanding that subsisted between her Majesty and the Republick, and between the Subjects on both Sides.

AT the same Time that the Empress of *Russia* made these Remonstrances at the *Hague* and even at *Paris* and *Sweden*, she was arming a mighty Force at *Revel*, *Cronstoot* and *Petersburgh*; the Fleet was to consist of between thirty and forty Ships of the Line, and a prodigious Number of Gallies of a new Invention, and very fit for Disembarkations: They were built in such a Manner, and drew so little Water, that they could carry a great many Men, and run up to the Mouth of any River; and if it should happen, that any of them were burnt, the *Russians* who served at Sea being almost all Carpenters, could build others in a very little Time, in any Place where they found Timber. To these Preparations were joined the Reports spread by the Ministers of *Holstein* on the Design of this Armament, which they declared every where was intended for an Invasion in *Jutland*, to restore their Prince to the Possession of his Dominions.

THESE Reports alarmed the Court of *Denmark*, who sent Orders to their Minister in *Sweden* to present the following Memorial to the King.

*The Envoy of
DENMARK'S
Memorial to
the King of
SWEDEN.*

"THE underwritten has Orders to represent to your Majesty, that the King his Master having been informed from good Hands, that the Duke of *Holstein* has an Intention to execute the next Summer, with the Assistance of the Empress of *Russia*, as well by Land as by Sea, the pernicious Design which he has for a long Time projected against his *Danish* Majesty; his said Majesty finds himself obliged to take Measures proper to oppose the Execution of such a Design; declaring, that the Preparations and the Armaments he has caused to be made, tend only to prevent the Effects of the Duke of *Holstein's* Menaces; that the Intention of his *Danish* Majesty being always to live in a good Understanding with his Majesty of *Sweden*, and exactly to observe the Treaties of Peace concluded between the two Kingdoms, he did not in the least doubt, but that his *Swedish* Majesty had the same Disposition, and would give him fresh Proofs of it, by not listening to the Demands or any Instances of the Duke of *Holstein*; and especially in not granting him any thing to the Prejudice of his *Danish* Majesty, or that might be any Infringement of their mutual Treaties."

THIS Memorial appeared very singular in many Respects, and comprehended a great deal: The King of *Sweden*, after having caused it to be examined, answered,

*The King of
SWEDEN'S
Answer.*

"THAT he was very sensible of this Mark of Friendship and Confidence that the King of *Denmark* had shewn him, in communicating the Motives of his Armaments; that his Majesty being always disposed religiously to observe

observe the Treaties of Peace and Convention, that he had concluded with other Powers, could therefore assure his *Danish* Majesty, that he would punctually execute all that had been stipulated by the Treaties between the two Crowns, and would on all Occasions give Proofs of a reciprocal Friendship and Confidence, and so much the sooner as he was persuaded, that his *Danish* Majesty was disposed, on his Side, to contribute all that depended on him to maintain the Peace of the North."

THE Steps taken by the Ministers of *Holstein* laid open the Secrets of the Cabinet, and alarmed those Powers who were interested in the Repose of the North: The Alliance that the Empress of *Russia* had concluded with the Court of *Vienna* made it apprehended, with Reason, that that Court would support her in her Enterprizes, since, though the Emperor constantly refused the Investiture of *Bremen* and *Verden* to the Elector of *Hanover*, he had nevertheless granted that to the Duke of *Holstein* for his Dominions, which he had refused so long before: Therefore the Powers were arming on every Side. As soon as Advice of this came to *Petersburgh*, they were obliged to take other Measures, and to endeavour to make it believed, that the Ministers of *Holstein* had spread false Reports; they published under-hand, that the prodigious Armament that they were preparing, was designed to support the Party they had in the States of *Sweden*, and which might give Motion to a certain Design of the *Russian* Court; but this made no Alteration in *Denmark* or *England*: Persuaded as they were of the Animosity of
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the chief Minister of *Holstein* against the Court of *Denmark*, as well as against those of *Hanover* and *Great Britain*, as may appear by a Piece under his Hand, of which we shall speak below.

BUT in reality the Intent of this Armament was to favour the Designs of the Duke of *Holstein* upon his Duchy of *Sleswick*: It was necessary to render this Enterprize plausible; the Foundation of the thing seemed just, but the Publick were to be satisfied, why this Invasion was to be undertaken at present. On this Account they had recourse to an Expedient extraordinary enough: They gave out every where, that the King of *Denmark* had caused Propositions of Accommodation to be made to the Duke of *Holstein*; which was the Name they gave to some Discourse, that M. *Westphalen*, the Minister of *Denmark*, had fallen into of himself, to shew the Dispositions of the Court of *Russia* and the Ministers of *Holstein*. In spreading this Report they had two Views, one was to make it believed by the Allies and Guarantees of *Denmark*, that that Court treated unknown to them, and of Consequence to raise some Suspicions and Jealousies; the other was to irritate the Court of *Denmark*, and provoke it to make some sharp Complaints.

IN the latter they succeeded; for these Reports no sooner reached *Copenhagen*, but the King gave Orders to his Secretary of State, *Van Hagen*, to write the following Letter to his Ministers in foreign Courts.

“ THE Ministers and Officers of his Highness the Duke of *Holstein* have taken Pains every

every where to publish and insinuate, that his Majesty our Master had an Intention to treat of an Accommodation with the Duke of *Holstein* concerning *Sleswick*, and to give him an Equivalent for it; and even that his Majesty had already made Propositions, and delivered a Plan upon which there might be a Negotiation carried on at *Petersburgh*: Nevertheless, all this is without Foundation and very false; and it appears, that the End of these false Reports of the Ministers of *Holstein* is calculated only to raise, as much as is in their Power, Suspicions and Jealousies among the Allies and Guarantees of the last Treaty of Peace concluded with *Sweden*, with respect to their Guaranty relating to the Affairs of *Sleswick*: For this Reason, by express Order of his Majesty, I am to observe to you, that you are to contradict in the strongest Manner, on all Occasions, these Insinuations of the Ministers of *Holstein*, as false and full of Fraud, and to declare and affirm, that his Majesty never had, nor ever will have a Thought of entering into an Accommodation with the Duke of *Holstein* concerning *Sleswick*, nor to give him the Value of one Penny as an Equivalent, much less to make him any Propositions, or listen to any that he should be willing to make; but that he is resolv'd stedfastly to abide by the Guaranty of *Great Britain* and *France*, without departing from it in any Manner, and in Consequence of the said Guaranty to maintain himself, *contra quoscunque*, in the peaceable and just Possession of all the Duchy of *Sleswick*; and this his Majesty orders you not to fail of insinuating in the strongest Terms,

Terms; on all Occasions, and at all Times when it shall be necessary; so that every one may be convinced of the false and imprudent Insinuations of the Ministers of *Holstein*, and not give Credit to them.

THIS Letter was too warm to remain without a Reply; M. *Bassewitz*, President of the Privy Council of *Holstein*, undertook to give one, which he did in the following Letter, in Form of an Apology, to Major *Reichel*, his Son-in-law and Envoy of *Holstein* at the Court of *Sweden*.

"I HAVE received your Answer of the 21st of *January*, and I learn by the Pieces it contains, that the Secretary of *Denmark* disperses every where about where you are, a Writing under the Title of a Letter from the Secretary *Van Hagen*, which he has written by express Order of the King.

HIS Royal Highness our Master is not less sensible of the Insult put upon his Ministers, than of that which is offered to himself in their Persons: His Royal Highness cannot better revenge himself than by despising such a Conduct, leaving it to his *Danish* Majesty to judge, when he shall be informed of it, if this Style is becoming a great Prince, and especially to a near Relation: Nevertheless his Royal Highness has ordered me to give you the following Lights upon this Subject.

THE Ministers of his Royal Highness are accused,

I. THAT they have published every where, that his *Danish* Majesty was disposed to come to an Accommodation with his Royal Highness

ness our gracious Sovereign, with respect to the Duchy of *Sleswick*, and to give him an Equivalent for it.

II. THAT his *Danish* Majesty had caused Propositions to be made upon this Subject, to treat here at *Petersburgh*, that it is false, his *Danish* Majesty so far from having a Thought of an Accommodation, with respect to the Duchy of *Sleswick*, that he would not give the Duke the Value of one Penny as an Equivalent, nor even listen to any Proposition on that Account.

As to the first Article, we know what we have thought of this Accommodation: It is not the first Time that this Duchy has been for a long while usurped; nevertheless, it has always returned to its lawful Sovereigns without drawing a Sword. It is known, that the Court of *Denmark* did not seize upon it, but because the Duke was too weak to resist him: And the Duke knowing the Justice of his Right, is it surprizing, that he should always hope, from the Equity of his *Danish* Majesty, that at length putting his Hand upon his Conscience, he might one Day render him Justice? Let any one judge, whose Sentiments are most worthy the Royal Majesty of Kings, those we have just now expressed, or those of his People, who boast in persevering in an unjust Usurpation, with the Assistance of their Allies, rather than to do Justice to the lawful Proprietor? This Confession cannot be prejudicial to the Ministers of his Royal Highness, since they have hitherto avoided discovering to the Publick his Mysteries of Iniquity.

As to the second Article, it is not to be comprehended how it can be declared, *by express Order of his Danish Majesty*, that he never had, nor could have a Thought of entering into an Accommodation with his Royal Highness.

Is it then Childrens Play what M. *Westphalen* has represented here, upon this Subject, to the Imperial Minister in the Month of *May* the last Year, 1725, and which was communicated in a publick Conference with the Chancellor *Stamke*, in order to be reported to his Royal Highness?

PERHAPS they would have been glad at the Court of *Denmark*, if they had not taken this Step; because his Royal Highness the next Day ordered us to declare to the Imperial Minister, that he could not approve of these Propositions, since his *Danish Majesty* had offered his Royal Highness to guaranty to him the Succession to the Throne of *Sweden*, for which his Royal Highness desired no Guaranty, the Crown of *Sweden* depending on God and the *Swedish* Nation.

If the King of *Denmark* was not disposed to an Accommodation, to what Purpose were those Insinuations that came to his Royal Highness, on the Part of those who declare at present so loudly against it, that a proper Medium might be found out, and this same M. *Westphalen* has often declared to us, if we would make him any reasonable Propositions, he was furnished with Power to treat? For what Reason has the same been declared to other foreign Ministers? This Envoy has too much Honour to deny this Fact. If the Secretary

cretary of State *Van Hagen* finds no Instructions on this Matter in the Royal Chancery, he may be furnished with authentick Proofs in the Chancery of her Imperial Czarish Majesty.

THESE are Facts which we are obliged to make publick, in Defence of our Honour against those Attacks which have been made upon it.

Now let every impartial Man judge, if the Ministers of his Royal Highness can with Justice be accused of having published Falsehoods and without Foundation, or as the Letter from *Copenhagen* expresses it, *of false Insinuations, and filled with Lies according to our usual Custom*: If we should borrow *M. Van Hagen's* Stile in answering him, it is very certain, that such an Echo could not be pleasing to the Ear; and yet we have a Right to follow the Example he has set us; but there is Nobody but can see, that he has made use of the Language of the lowest of the Mob, rather than of a Stile becoming the Chancery, and of a Secretary of State; such gross Expressions are only agreeable to the Dregs of the People, or to miserable Chicanors; those who are employed in writing about important Affairs ought not to put Words into the Mouth of a Sovereign fitting only for the lowest of Mankind. The Author of this Letter ought to have reflected ten Times before he had let slip that Expression, that his *Danish* Majesty had never thought of giving the Value of one Penny as an Equivalent for the Duchy of *Sleswick*; he must have had very different Dispo-

sitions the last Year, when his *Danish* Majesty caused his Royal Highness to be offered the Succession to the Throne of *Sweden*: Indeed this is but a poor Condition.

AFTER all, what Reasons could we have to be willing to inspire the high Allies and Guarantees of his *Danish* Majesty with Suspicions: We know, that they are too equitable to maintain any thing through Obstinacy, and which may be contrary to their Interests; and his *Danish* Majesty is not ignorant, that on certain Occasions the Succours of Guarantees are not always ready; besides, that the Guaranty is not a Decision of his Royal Highness's Rights, and nothing hinders him from interesting other Powers in his Favour therein.

If the Almighty has made one Sovereign more powerful than another, has he therefore a Right to deprive this of the Heritage of his Fore-fathers, because he is too weak to oppose him, or because in his Minority he may have offended the more powerful, and afterwards to solicit Guarantees of his Usurpation? This is what cannot be proved by the Divine Law, or by that of Nature and Nations.

WHATEVER Right there may seem to be in a Possession founded only on the Force of Arms, that Right must in Time fall of itself; his *Danish* Majesty has Recourse to the Guaranty of *France* and *England*, and founds thereon his Right of Possession to the Duchy of *Sleswick*; this does not hinder his Royal Highness from re-claiming his Dominions with Damages; and the more, as he knows

the Power and Equity of the Guarantees of his Rights, and from whom he expects the Effects; and his Royal Highness relies on them, persuaded that before they come to a War they will have Recourse to all the Means that may procure an amicable Restitution; and so much the more, as the Guarantees to whom he has Recourse are accepted by the two Parties by solemn Treaties, which those are not, who guaranty to his *Danish* Majesty the Possession of *Sleswick*, and whom his Royal Highness never thought of.

If we loved Rodomontades, we might answer *M. Van Hagen*, that if his *Danish* Majesty would not give one Penny as an Equivalent; his Royal Highness does not yet see himself under the Necessity of yielding one Village of all his Duchy, nor (since we must mention a Penny) to abate one Penny of the Indemnifications that he pretends to.

BUT these Discourses in the Clouds tend to nothing. His Royal Highness, who always preserves a true Respect for his *Danish* Majesty, flatters himself that his *Danish* Majesty will conceive Sentiments more worthy and more equitable towards him, protesting, that to preserve the Repose of the North, there is no reasonable Accommodation that he will not readily come into; and as to ourselves, we shall think it our Duty to keep his Royal Highness in these equitable and pacifick Sentiments."

THIS Letter made so much Noise, that the Court of *Denmark* could not avoid giving an Answer to it, which was done by the same Secretary of State, *Van Hagen*, in Writing to

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M. Van Holtz, Counsellor of State, on the 7th of *May* 1726.

“ You must have seen, Sir, by the Letter of *M. Bassewitz*, President of the Duke of *Holstein’s* Privy Council, which is in every body’s Hands, and which he wrote on the 18th of *February*, O. S. to his Son-in-law Major General *Reichel*, the Envoy at *Stockholm*, in what Manner he endeavours to shew his own Resentment, and that of the other Ministers of *Holstein*, for what I wrote to you on the 12th of *January* by the King’s Order, upon the false Reports spread by the Ministers of *Holstein*, of an approaching Accommodation between his Majesty and the Duke of *Holstein*, and for which his Majesty, as they say, had made Propositions in a Plan sent to *Petersburgh*, where this Business was to be negotiated. They complain very much of the too violent Expressions in my Letter; and endeavour to refute all I have said of their false Imputations.

As to the Invectives of *M. Bassewitz* against me, I do not think they deserve to be mentioned, much less answered; it is enough, that his Conduct is known for some Time past; whereas with regard to myself, every one must be convinced, that in his Majesty’s Affairs, which I treated of by his Order, I have advanced nothing but the pure Truth.

BUT as the specious Manner in which this Letter of *M. Bassewitz* is wrote, may make some sinister Impressions on the Guarantees of the Treaty of Peace with *Sweden*, and cause them to make a Judgment disadvantageous to his Majesty’s Conduct in the present Con-

Conjuncture, we shall examine the said Letter, wherein M. *Bassewitz* advances, as so many certain Facts;

I. THAT M. *Westphalen*, his Majesty's Envoy at *Petersburgh*, had proposed this Affair to the *Russian* Ministers in the Name of his Majesty, in the Month of *May* 1725, and that this was communicated to the Chancellor *Stanke* in a formal Conference, that he might inform the Duke his Master of it.

II. THAT the next Day the Duke of *Holstein* let this Minister know, that he could not accept of the Conditions that had been offered to guaranty the Crown of *Sweden* to him, since the Duke, with respect to the Succession to the Throne of *Sweden*, relied only on the Divine Providence; and if he should obtain it, would be only indebted for it to the *Swedish* Nation.

III. THAT M. *Westphalen* has often declared to the Ministers of *Holstein*, that they need only to make such Propositions, as they thought proper, and that he was provided sufficiently with full Powers, not only to treat but to conclude.

To give the greater Air of Probability to these Allegations, M. *Bassewitz* boldly cites an authentick Proof in the Chancery of *Petersburgh*, which he offers to produce, if I cannot be convinced otherwise; and if I cannot find any Proof in the Royal Chancery here: Nevertheless I can protest upon my Conscience, and by every thing the most sacred, that his Majesty never had a Thought of making any such Propositions to M. *Basse-*

witz, nor ever gave Orders to M. *Westphalen* to make any Overtures upon this Subject, either to the Ministers of *Holstein* or those of *Russia*; therefore he had not given full Powers either to treat or conclude: And on the other hand, it cannot be believed or presumed, that M. *Westphalen* nor any other Minister would meddle in an Affair of such Importance without Orders.

BUT what is certain, and an incontestable Truth, is, that the Ministers of *Holstein*, and in particular M. *Bassewitz*, have often made ridiculous Propositions to M. *Westphalen*, which his Majesty ordered him to listen to no more; and to declare to them, once for all, that his Majesty would never lend an Ear to any Accommodation concerning *Slefwick*, with the Duke of *Holstein*, and that he was resolved, as he had every where declared, to abide by the Guaranty of the Kings of *France* and *Great Britain*, from which he never would depart in any Manner; leaving it to the said Kings of *France* and *Great Britain* to consider how far they ought to shew their Resentment for the contemptible Terms made use of by the said *Sieur Bassewitz* in his Letter, speaking of this Guaranty.

THIS is enough to answer to the Letter, which M. *Bassewitz* has taken care to disperse on all Sides, and to convince every one of the Falsity of what he has advanc'd with so much Boldness.

I am, &c.

WHILST Mens Minds were thus disposed for a Rupture by these Writings, in a Style uncommon among Princes, every thing was preparing

preparing in *Russia* for Execution; the Ships were brought together and equipt, and the Troops designed for this Expedition were ordered to advance towards *Livonia*; nevertheless they were not without Apprehensions of failing in the Success of it; for they received Advice from *England* by every Post, that King *George I.* was making a considerable Armament, which it was judged was destinated for the *Baltick* Sea. Indeed *Denmark* was not the only Power that apprehended the Consequences of the warlike Preparations of the *Russians*; *Sweden* was greatly alarmed at it; and as the Partizans of the Duke of *Holstein* moved strongly in that Kingdom, to have Deputies in the approaching Assembly of the States, it was not doubted, but that though the *Russian* Fleet seemed designed against *Denmark*, it would not really fail but with Views of supporting the *Swedish* Partizans of the Duke of *Holstein*; some ill-timed Menaces that were dropt by the *Russian* Ministers, confirmed the Court in this Suspicion; wherefore Baron *Spaar*, the *Swedish* Minister in *Great Britain*, pressed that Court to take Measures to preserve the Repose of the North: The Court of *Denmark* pressed it no less, and they were the more easily determined there, as they received Information of some Steps taken by the Court of *Berlin*, that made it doubted, if the King of *Prussia* would continue firm in the Alliance of *Hanover*.

COUNT SECKENDORF, a *Saxon*, in the Service of the Emperor, and for whom the King of *Prussia* had for a long Time conceived a real Esteem, being by Chance at *Potsdam*,

dam, only to make his Court to that Monarch, imagined that he had found out, that he was not very well satisfied with his Allies, of which he informed the Emperor; and at the same Time made some Insinuations to his *Prussian* Majesty of a defensive Alliance with the Imperial Court. What he said of himself upon this Subject, and only by way of Conversation, was more regarded than he could well have expected; and these casual Overtures led him insensibly into farther Explanations with that Prince, who in his Turn opened himself upon his Pretensions to the Succession of *Juliers* and *Berg*, which he pretended was to return to his Family after the Death of the Elector *Palatine*. It was a Master Stroke in Politicks for the Emperor and his Allies to draw the King of *Prussia* from the *Hanover* Alliance, or at least to raise some probable Suspicions of the Possibility of a Change in that Respect, which would be a sure Means of perplexing the Allies of *Hanover*, and of retarding, or it may be, of hindering the Accession of some Powers who were invited to enter into that Alliance; therefore the Emperor granted every thing the King of *Prussia* demanded, and even some things, the Execution of which seemed at that Time impossible, at least what was not in the Power of the Emperor to grant; hereupon Conditions of a Treaty were agreed to, in Form of a defensive Alliance, which consisted of four Heads. I. That his *Prussian* Majesty should guaranty the Succession in the House of *Austria*, as it had been regulated by the last *Pragmatick Sanction*. II. That the King of *Prussia*

Prussia and the Emperor should mutually assist each other with a certain Number of Troops. III. That the Emperor shall pay a certain Subsidy to the King of *Prussia*. IV. That his Imperial Majesty shall concur all that is in his Power to secure to his *Prussian* Majesty the eventual Succession to the States of *Juliers* and *Berg*. These things to be settled by the Emperor in the Term of six Months from the Day of the Signature, otherwise the King of *Prussia* not to be bound thereby.

THE News of this Alliance was very agreeable at the Court of *Russia*, where they caused it to be talked of aloud. Other Motives gave rise to another Negotiation between the Court of *Prussia* and that of *Russia*. The Differences increased between *Poland* and the Court of *Berlin*; on the other Side the *Poles* shewed but little Regard to the Demands of her Imperial Czarish Majesty: They equally threatened the Kingdoms of *Prussia* and *Russia*, especially with respect to *Courland*. If the *Russians* were not concerned in the *Polanders* entering into *Prussia*, they had a real Interest in preserving *Courland*, which served as a Rampart on that Side to *Livonia*. On the other hand, the King of *Prussia*, whom the *Polanders* would treat as a Vassal, seemed to have every thing to fear from the Impetuosity of that Nation. These Interests being united, without Difficulty formed a defensive Alliance, in which, besides the Guaranty of their respective Possessions, it was stipulated, what Succours they should assist each other with.

THESE Alliances, joined to the great Preparations that were made, without Interruption, as well by Land as by Sea, alarmed the *Danes* more than they had been in the preceding Years; for which Reason they solicited more than ever the Succours from *Great Britain*: And did this with the greater Appearance of Success, as that Court as well as *France* pressed his *Danish* Majesty to enter into the *Hanover* Alliance.

THE King of *Denmark* had great Reason to desire to be a contracting Party in this Alliance; but the Article of the Guaranty of Rights and Possessions was an Obstacle, which from the Relations of the Interests of other States with the Crown of *Denmark*, could not but hinder other Powers from acceding to it without great Restrictions, which it is good to avoid, because they commonly so much enervate Treaties, as to render them of little Use: Besides that the Rights and Pretensions of *Denmark* could not be guaranteed without the Guarantees exposing themselves to difficult Discussions with other Potentates. Therefore the Kings of *Great Britain* and *France* chose rather to make a particular Treaty with his *Danish* Majesty, which the Lord *Glenorchy* and Count *Camilli* negotiated, but it could not be concluded without much Difficulty; *Denmark* knew so well how to profit by the Desire that these Powers shewed to maintain the Peace of the North, and make advantageous Terms for herself.

In short, while the King of *Great Britain* made a considerable Armament, as if the Trade of the *British* Nation was obstructed in

in the *Baltick* Sea, by the *Russians* or some other Power, the Court of *Denmark* contented herself with fitting out ten or twelve Ships at most, as well Men of War as Frigates, and those hardly in a Condition to put to Sea, when the *Englisb* Admiral appeared in the *Sound*. Either the King of *Denmark* relied on the Interest that his Friends took in preventing any Rupture in the North, or he was persuaded, that it was but a false Alarm given on all Sides, like sounding the Alarm Bell against the Empress of *Russia*, as if he was convinced beyond Dispute, that that Princess had formed the Project of invading *Jutland*, to put the Duke of *Holstein*, her Son-in-law, in Possession of his Dominions, which could not but rekindle the Fire of War in the North.

BE this as it may, the *Englisb* Squadron commanded by Sir *Charles Wager* arrived in the *Baltick* Sea, consisting of twenty three Sail, the *Danish* Squadron of ten or twelve Vessels joined at first but very slowly, and that not till after the *British* Admiral had taken a Tour to *Elsenab*, to execute a Commission to the Court of *Sweden*, which was to declare to his *Swedish* Majesty, that the King of *Great Britain* had sent him to maintain the Peace of the North, and to cover the Coasts of *Sweden* from any Enterprizes on the Part of the *Russians*.

The English Squadron arrives in the BALTICK.

THIS confirms what we have said before, that it was suspected that the *Russian* Fleet was not so much designed against *Denmark*, as to support the Partizans of the Duke of *Holstein* in the Assembly of the States of *Sweden*;

den; and this is the more probable, as a Crown is preferable to a petty Duchy; and if that Prince had been once assured of ascending the Throne of *Sweden*, he would be no longer in Pain about finding out Means to recover his Dominions in *Futland*; the natural Antipathy between the two Nations would have been a sure Guaranty to him.

GREAT BRITAIN's sending this Squadron of Ships into a remote Sea was such a Step, as a Reason might be demanded for it; therefore his *Britannick* Majesty wrote the following Letter to her Imperial Czarish Majesty, which was soon made publick.

*The King of
GREAT BRI-
TAIN's Letter
to the Empress
of RUSSIA.*

“GEORGE, by the Grace of God King of *Great Britain*, to the most High, most Mighty and most Illustrious Princess, our most dear Sister, the great Lady CATHARINE, Czarina, and great Duchess of all the Great, Little and White *Russia*, sole Monarch of *Muscovy*, &c. &c. &c. Health, Happiness and Prosperity.

MOST High, most Mighty, and most Illustrious Princess,

As your Majesty must allow, that your great Preparations both by Sea and Land for War, in a Time of Peace, could not fail of giving us, as well as our Allies in those Parts, great and just Cause to be alarmed, you will not be surprized, that we have sent a strong Squadron of our Men of War into the *Baltick*, under the Command of our Admiral Sir *Charles Wager*, to obviate any Danger that might insue from so extraordinary an Armament.

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YOUR Majesty very well knows, how desirous we have been not only to preserve the publick Tranquillity of *Europe*, but also to cultivate a perfect good Understanding, and to cement a firm and lasting Friendship, betwixt our Royal Crown of *Great Britain* and that of *Russia*.

WE have not failed upon all Occasions to give convincing Proofs of these our peaceable and amicable Intentions; and your Majesty must needs remember an eminent Instance of this, when we declared our ready Disposition to enter, in Conjunction with our good Brother the King of *France*, into an Alliance with his late Majesty, your Lord and Consort, upon such Terms and Conditions as might be consistent with the Peace of the *North*, and be reciprocally compatible with the Interest, Dignity and Honour of the Parties contracting. By this Means, we did not doubt but a sincere Reconciliation might be adjusted between us and your late Consort, and an intire Friendship and good Harmony established between our respective Dominions and Subjects, for their mutual Advantage, and that by the same Means the Peace and Tranquillity of the *North* would also be established on a solid and durable Foundation.

To attain to these great and good Ends, and in Conformity to his late Majesty's Intentions, which the Ministers of his Most Christian Majesty had frequently reported, a Plan of a Treaty was formed, in Concert with the Court of *France*, and sent to his late Majesty for his Approbation and final Consent; but the accomplishing of this good Work was pre-

prevented by his late Majesty's sudden and unexpected Death.

NEVERTHELESS, as we still retained the same good Intentions to preserve the Peace of the *North*, and to renew our ancient Friendship with the Crown of *Russia*, immediately after your Majesty's Accession to the Throne, we declared, in Conjunction with his Most Christian Majesty, that we were ready to conclude and finish the Treaty above-mention'd, not in the least doubting but your Majesty would be glad of a Proposal so manifestly advantageous to your Dominions and People, and which tended so much to the Preservation of the publick Peace: But we must own, that we were sensibly afflicted to see our Hopes defeated by the Return, which was made to the obliging and friendly Offers that were made on our Part; because after a long Delay, to no Manner of Purpose, we found that your Majesty's Ministers insisted upon such Alterations in the Treaty projected, as did not concern the Interest of the *Russian* Empire, and such as were not only contrary to the solemn Engagements, which we and his Most Christian Majesty were under to other Powers, but such as would have involved all the Northern Crowns in new Troubles and Distractions.

NEITHER can we conceal from your Majesty the extraordinary Surprize we were under to hear, that while we were carrying on amicable Negotiations, and had not given the least Provocation on our Part, Measures were taking at your Court in favour of the

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Pretender to our Crown, and great Encouragement given to his Adherents.

AFTER what we have now set forth, your Majesty will not be surprized, that we being indispensably obliged to provide for the Security of our Dominions, to perform our Engagements with our Allies, and to maintain the publick Tranquillity in the *North*, which seems to be very much in Danger from your Majesty's late Preparations, have thought it necessary to send a strong Fleet of our Men of War to the *Baltick*, and that we have given Orders to our Admiral who commands it, to endeavour to prevent fresh Troubles in those Parts by hindering your Majesty's Ships from coming out, in case that you persist in your Resolution to put your Fleet to Sea, to execute the Designs which you may have in View.

BUT as it is our firm Intention to live in Peace and Friendship with your Majesty, we wish from the Bottom of our Heart, that your Majesty, seriously reflecting upon the true Interest of your Subjects, would permit them to enjoy the Blessings of that Peace, which they purchased at the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure, under the Conduct of his late Majesty; and that rather than enter into Measures, which must inevitably plunge *Russia* into a War, and the whole *North* in Confusion, your Majesty would please to give your People and all Mankind convincing Proofs of your Inclination to Peace, and of your good Disposition to live in Quiet with your Neighbours.

GIVEN

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GIVEN at our Court at our Royal Palace of St. James's, the 11th of April 1726, and the 12th Year of our Reign.

Signed,

Tours affectionately,

GEORGE REX.

THIS Letter was maturely examined in the Privy Council, which her Imperial Majesty had just established, and in which all the important Affairs of the Empire were treated of in the Presence of that Princess: This Council was composed of but five Lords, in whom her Majesty had an intire Confidence; these were Prince *Menzikoff*, the Grand Admiral *Apraxin*, the Grand Chancellor *Goloffskin*, Count *Tolstoi*, and Prince *Michaelowitz Galiczin*. Before this Establishment, every thing was reported to the Senate, which made it very difficult to keep things so secret as was necessary; for which Reason the Empress ordered, that all foreign Affairs, and those relating to the Army and Admiralty, should be deliberated upon in this Privy Council, leaving every thing else under the Administration of the Senate. In this Council it was judged proper to make the following Answer to his *Britannick* Majesty's Letter.

*The Empress
of RUSSIA's
Answer.*

“CATHARINE, by the Grace of God Empress of all *Russia*, &c.
Most High, most Mighty, and Illustrious King,

WE have received your Royal Majesty's amicable and fraternal Letter of the 21st of *April*, by which you are pleased to declare to

us, That the warlike Preparations we have made had engaged your Royal Majesty to send a strong Fleet of Men of War into the *Ballick*, to obviate any Enterprizes we might go upon to disturb the Tranquillity of the *North*; and that in order thereto, your Royal Majesty had given Orders to your Admiral *Sir Charles Wager*, to hinder our Fleet going out to Sea.

WE must confess, we were extremely surprized not to receive your Letter, but at the very Instant your Fleet appeared on our Coast, and after they had cast Anchor before *Revel*; since it had been more agreeable to the Custom established by Sovereigns, and more consistent with the Amity that has so long subsisted between our Kingdoms and the Crown of *Great Britain*, had your Royal Majesty thought fit to expostulate with us about the Umbrage you might conceive from our Armament, and to expect our Answer thereupon, before you advanced to so offensive a Step.

THEN might your Royal Majesty have been assured by us, that so far it is from our Thoughts to disturb the Repose of the *North*, that on the contrary, all our Cares and Attention are wholly bent on the Security and Preservation of it, both for the Time present and Time to come, as being more concerned than your Royal Majesty in preventing whatever may endanger that Tranquillity.

AND as your Royal Majesty is fully informed of what passed in the Negotiations between his Imperial Majesty, our Lord and Consort, of glorious Memory, and afterwards

between us and his Majesty the King of *France*, you cannot but be persuaded of this our sincere Intention; and we refer to your own Judgment, in what Manner we, and all the World with us, ought to look upon this extraordinary Step of your Royal Majesty; and whether any other Construction can be put upon it, but that you have formed Designs very prejudicial against us, and that therefore you are inclined to occasion new Troubles in the *North*, by making, for want of any warrantable Reason, the said Armament a Pretence, altho' not at all tending that Way: Our Apprehensions herein appear to be the better grounded, because in your Royal Majesty's Letter you charge us with things, of which with great Justice we ourselves might complain.

It were needless to mention in this Place the sincere Friendship which his Imperial Majesty, our Lord and Consort of glorious Memory, bore to your Royal Majesty; and all the World knows, how much that Friendship has been useful and advantageous to you: Neither is your Royal Majesty ignorant what Return you have made to my said Lord and Consort; nor that through Greatness of Soul, his Imperial Majesty rather chose to overlook it, than to undertake any thing that might make the least Breach in the constant Amity that always subsisted between *Russia* and *Great Britain*. His said Imperial Majesty could never have given more convincing Proofs of his sincere Intentions to preserve that good Amity, than by his generous Acceptance of the good Offices offered by his Majesty the
King

King of *France*, towards the Restoration of a perfect Understanding with your Royal Majesty, and by declaring himself resolved, disposed, and willing, not only to bury in eternal Oblivion all former Injuries, but also to enter (on reasonable Conditions) with your Majesty, and the Crown of *France*, into a stricter Engagement, and a defensive Alliance.

THE Conditions proposed by his said Imperial Majesty, at the Request of *France*, were not only thought just from the Beginning, but his Most Christian Majesty has more than once given Hopes, that as those Conditions might be well reconciled with the Engagements entered into with *France*, with your Majesty, and with other Powers, so, with respect to such an Alliance, they might be adjusted and settled according to Equity and Justice, for the intire Security of the Tranquillity of the *North*; and therefore these are not new Conditions, but the same, though your Royal Majesty sounds them so high at present; and since in the last Answer which has been communicated to us on the Part of *France*, your Majesty's self declares the thing to be just, it is very plain, that nevertheless your Majesty not only rejects all amicable and equitable Means to adjust the same, but that you design to oblige us to accept Conditions directly opposite both to our Interest, and which is more, to our Honour and Reputation, as well as to Justice itself. These Circumstances, cannot induce us to believe, that your Majesty's Ministers ever had a serious Intention to conclude that Alliance;

but rather, that the sending a Squadron of Men of War, together with Orders, through which it is easy to see an Interruption of Amity, and the Rise of new Troubles in the *North*, is but the Consequence and Result of the Animosity which some of your Ministers have shewn publicly every where against us for so many Years past. The thing appears evident from what your Majesty alledges and charges us with in relation to the *Pretender*. Your Ministers have rightly understood, that all the Reasons by them suggested, (and which, abstracted from that, do not regard the Interest of *Great Britain*, but are rather diametrically opposite to the solemn Treaties subsisting between *Great Britain* and other Powers) are not to be admitted, and are insufficient to justify their violent Enterprizes to Persons disinterested; and not being able to find out any other Reason, that frivolous and stale Accusation must be trumped up, and serve, as heretofore, as the main Pretence for all the unkind Steps taken against us.

ALTHOUGH the Groundlessness of that Accusation has oftentimes been proved, tho' Time and Experience have evinced, that those pretended Engagements no where existed but in the Imaginations of your Royal Majesty's Ministers; and though the Willingness we have shewn on our Part to facilitate the late Negotiations, ought no less to convince your Royal Majesty of the Malice and Falsity of those Insinuations, than the Dispositions we have shewn to grant the Guaranty you have demanded of us; nevertheless, over and above all that, we are still willing to assure your

your Royal Majesty, that we bear you too much Friendship, to be willing to give your Majesty and the *British* Nation any Uneasiness, by any Engagements we might enter into with the *Pretender*. As for the rest, it depends on your Majesty's Pleasure to give what Orders you think proper to your Admiral: But then your Royal Majesty will agree with us, that your Prohibition would not hinder us from causing our Fleet to go out, if we thought it convenient; and that in the Quality of a Sovereign and an Empress, holding of none but God alone, we are no less unwilling to receive Laws from any one than to forget ourselves so far, as to pretend to dictate any to others. Moreover, we are intirely ready and dispos'd to entertain a good Harmony with your Royal Majesty; nor shall we undertake any thing that may interrupt the Amity so firmly established between the two Kingdoms for so many Years past: And as on our Part we readily declare, that this Amity cannot but be very useful to us, and to our Kingdoms and Subjects, we hope likewise your Royal Majesty will own, that hitherto it has been no less advantagious to your Majesty, and to your Kingdoms and Subjects, and that for the future it might not be unprofitable. In short, as it is most certain, that his Imperial Majesty, of glorious Memory, after having been abandon'd by all his Allies, did, with incredible Labours and Expences, procure to himself and his Kingdoms, the so much desired Peace, so we shall likewise use all our Endeavours to secure the

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Enjoyment of it to our Kingdoms and Subjects.

WE are even persuaded, that we cannot better attain these good Ends, than by being, after the Example of our Lord and Consort, of glorious Memory, in such a Posture, as at all Times, in Case of Need, to be able to succour our Allies, to perform our Engagements to them, to protect our faithful Subjects against any Insults, and to oppose them, who may offer to wrest from us and our Subjects this Treasure, Peace.

It is with this View, and with this View only, that we have made the Armament that has given your Royal Majesty so much Umbraze, though without any Reason or Foundation. We wish the Almighty to vouchsafe to bestow on your Royal Majesty perfect Health, and an ever happy Reign. At St. *Petersburgh*, June 15th, 1726, and in the second Year of our Reign.

Of your Royal Majesty's,

The most affectionate Sister,

CATHARINE.

And lower,

COUNT GOLOFFSKIN.

NEVERTHELESS, the *English* Squadron advanced as far as *Nargin*, an Island in Sight of *Reval*, where it was very secure, and from whence it could hinder the Coming out of the *Russian* Fleet. Several Councils were held concerning the Manner they should behave towards

towards the *English*; the less prudent were of Opinion, that they ought to take Advantage of the first favourable Wind to fall upon them, after they had blocked them up on the Side of the Land by their Gallies, which carried great Guns; others were for setting fire to their Ships: But the wiser shew'd, that after it had been published in all the Courts that were concerned herein, that her Imperial Czarish Majesty had no Enterprize in View with her Fleet, but had equipt it only to maintain the Repose of the *North*, and to exercise her Marine, as was done in the preceding Years, they ought by their Conduct to answer to this Declaration, and prove to all *Europe*, that they acted sincerely, and that those were deceived, who had given another Idea of the Designs of the *Russian* Empress. This was thought making a Virtue of Necessity; and by a forced Conduct those Forces were left in Inaction, which were destinated for quite other Matters: Therefore the Empress gave Orders to all the Governors of *Revel* and other Places on the Coasts, to give Admiral *Wager* a good Reception, and even to furnish him, paying for them, with Provisions and whatever Refreshments he had Occasion for. Thus the Officers and even the Sailors were seen in *Revel*, as much at Liberty as if this Fleet had came to bring Succours to *Russia*.

BUT as it was feared, that the Neighbourhood of this Fleet, and the Reports that were every where carefully spread of her Imperial Czarish Majesty's Designs, might disturb the Trade of those Parts; her Imperial

Majesty for that Reason published the following Declaration in favour of the *British* Nation.

THE Czarina's Declaration in favour of the *British* Merchants.

“ **B**Y the Grace of God, We CATHARINE, Empress and Self-Upholder of all *Russia*, &c. &c. &c.

BE it known to all and every one in particular, whom it may concern; whereas we have taken into Consideration, that his Royal Majesty of *Great Britain* has sent a strong Squadron of his Ships of War into the *Baltick* Sea, who have anchored before our Port of *Revel*; and that such his Royal Majesty of *Great Britain*'s unfriendly Proceeding, not any Way occasioned by us, hath plainly no other Aim, but to undertake some disagreeable Measures against us, and consequently disturb the Peace of the *North*; and whereas the Merchants of the *Great British* Nation, trading with our Empire of *Great Russia*, might, upon his Royal *Britannick* Majesty's unfriendly Proceeding toward us, suspect, (and the more, if any actual Hostilities against us should be used by the aforesaid Squadron) lest they who are in our Empire may come to suffer in their Persons, Ships, Goods, &c. and be reduced to utter Ruin; but we on our Part are sincerely purposed (notwithstanding these Proceedings of his *Great Britannick* Majesty, tending to excite new Troubles in the *North*) to preserve with all Diligence that friendly and good Correspondence, which hath continued so many Years till this Time, steady and inviolable betwixt the Dominions
of

of *Russia* and *Great Britain*, to the great Benefit and Advantage of both Nations, and not only allow the Merchants of *Great Britain* trading in our Empire, their free Traffick, without any Manner of Hindrance or Detriment; but also for the Improvement thereof, shew them all Marks of gracious Favour and Encouragement; to the End that we may hereby give the whole World, and particularly the renowned *Great British* Nation, the more sensible Proofs of our sincere Intention to preserve inviolably a good Understanding with the Crown of *Great Britain*, and continue that good Friendship which hath been established of so ancient a Date between the two Kingdoms.

For which Causes, we have thought good, by these Presents, publickly to declare this our gracious Intention; and we do assure all Merchants of *Great Britain* in general, and every one in particular, that although any open Hostilities against us should be acted by his Majesty of *Great Britain*, or his Squadron sent by him, nevertheless the said Merchants, neither in their Persons, Goods, Possessions, Ships going or coming, nor by any other Manner whatsoever, shall receive any Injury, or be brought into Damage or Ruin by us, so and in such Manner, that as well for the present, as for the Time to come, they may freely, and at their Pleasure and best Advantage, without any Fear or Apprehension, carry on their Traffick in our Empire, equally with all Nations in Friendship with us; and on all Occasions be unalterably ascertained and assured of our gracious Protection
and

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and Care for them ; provided only they themselves, through no disagreeable Measures, or forbidden Proceedings, render themselves obnoxious. In Confirmation whereof, we have signed this our gracious Declaration with our own Hand, and commanded that it should be proclaimed in the usual Manner.

GIVEN at St. Petersburg, this 21st of June, 1726.

THE Original was signed with her Imperial Majesty's own Hand.

L. S.

E. CATHARINE.

COUNT RABUTIN, the Emperor's Minister at the Czarina's Court, left no Stone unturned, at this Time, to thwart the Negotiations which the *British* Admiral was instructed to propose, to enter into with her Ministers, towards the removing all Causes of Jealousy and Distrust on both Sides, suggesting, " That the Admiral being come with open Force to negotiate an Accommodation, it would be a Disparagement to the *Russian* Court to enter with him into a Treaty, while his Fleet lay at Anchor under an Island belonging to the *Russians*, and that they ought, at least, to make him quit their Coasts, to leave the Senators at an entire Liberty."

On the other hand, Admiral *Wager* having transmitted the Czarina's Answer to his *Britannick* Majesty's Letter, waited in the same Station for his Majesty's farther Orders and Instructions. In the mean Time, from all the Intelligence he had received, he judged the *Russians* did not intend to make any Attempts

tempts that Year, their naval Strength being inferior to his; they had indeed more Ships than they ever had before fitted out, but they could not man them with any tolerable Number of Seamen without disabling those already manned: But at *Revel* they made a new Battery, and lay Day and Night on board their Ships in the Mole, and on the Batteries, for fear of a Surprize.

THE BRITISH Admiral had some Conference with Prince *Menzikoff*, who made a Tour into *Livonia* on Affairs which we shall mention hereafter, but they could agree on nothing for the Re-establishment of the good Understanding between the two Courts; the Interests of *Holstein* being an insurmountable Barrier betwixt them.

It was while this *British* Squadron was under *Nargin*, that a Part of the King of *Denmark's* Fleet came to join them, when *M. Westphalen*, the Minister of that Prince, presented the following Memorial to the Empress of *Russia* at *Petersburgh*.

“ **M**OST *Illustrious and most Mighty Sovereign*, The great Armaments made in the *Baltick* by *Russia*, for some Years, and particularly that of this Year, which much exceeds all the foregoing, even those made in Time of open War with the Crown of *Sweden*, are of such a Nature, in all their Circumstances, that all the neighbouring Powers have Reason to be uneasy on that Account, and to demand Assurances which may entirely calm their Minds. The perpetual Alliance concluded in 1709, between the

The DANISH Minister's Memorial to the Empress of RUSSIA.

King

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King my Master, and the late Czar *Peter I.* for procuring the Welfare and Advantage of the Dominions of both, is of such a Nature, that the King my Master, relying on the Principles of Equity and the true Interest of *Russia*, has nothing to fear from all the Machinations of disaffected Persons; on the contrary, his Majesty has Reason to expect all manner of Demonstrations of Friendship from your Majesty. Nevertheless as your Majesty has not given to the King my Master the least Intimation of the Subject of the extraordinary Armament of Men of War, Gallies, Bomb Vessels, and other Ships, of the March of divers Regiments designed for Embarkation, of the immense Quantity of Biscuit provided, nor of so many other military Preparations, which were made, as it is usually practised among neighbouring Powers, with whom one intends to cultivate a good Friendship, and which there is an Obligation to do between such Allies as my Master and your Majesty. That on the other hand, a Report was generally spread at *Petersburgh*, *Revel* and *Riga*, and almost every where else, that the Armaments of your Majesty are design'd against the Kingdom of *Denmark*; and that the same Report is publickly spread by the Adherents of the Duke of *Holstein*, not only here, but also in *Sweden*, at *Vienna*, *Hamburgb*, *Lubeck*, and in other Parts: That besides, several neighbouring Powers have given the King my Master Notice of the great Sea Armaments, and advis'd him to be on his Guard; and that his Majesty is informed, that the principal Aim of those who have the greatest

greatest Influence at this Court, and whose Counsel prevails too much, is to disturb continually the good Harmony which has subsisted so long between *Denmark* and *Russia*, and which of late Years procured such great Advantages to both Nations, especially to *Russia*, being willing to sacrifice to their ambitious Views the true Interest of *Russia* and *Denmark*, by dividing and making them arm against each other. All this, added to many other Circumstances of no less Weight, which for good Reasons I do not mention, oblige the King my Master to desire that the Cause of his Apprehension and Uncertainty, on Account of the great Armaments of your Majesty, which increase every Year, may be removed. For that Purpose, the King my Master thought fit to charge me expressly to represent to your Majesty, in a private Audience, and in the most respectful and suitable Manner, what I have mentioned above, and the Uneasiness of his Majesty on that Account; and at the same Time, to assure your Majesty with the unalterable Intention of the King my Master, to cultivate still a good Amity and Union with your Majesty, conformable to the perpetual Alliance concluded with your Majesty and the King my Master in 1709, and knit closer and closer the Ties of that Friendship for the mutual Welfare and Advantage of both Nations, and enquire of your Majesty what the King my Master may expect from the Friendship and Good-will of your Majesty, and whether your Majesty is minded to observe the Contents of the said Alliance of 1709? This is what I am expressly charged

charged to propose and declare most respectfully to your Majesty, entreating your Majesty to give upon it such a Declaration or Answer, as may fully quiet the Mind of the King my Master, concerning the Intention and Designs of your Majesty. I hope your Majesty will not, in the least, scruple giving such a Declaration, the rather because it is conformable with the Treaties, and established among good Neighbours and Allies: In Expectation of which, &c.

St. Petersburg, July 12,
1726.

V. WESTPHALEN.

THE Demand seemed a little new, and somewhat out of Season, since a Sovereign ought not to be responsible to any one for what he does at home, and especially when no Step is taken, nor any Declaration made that might prove an Intention to trouble the publick Repose; moreover it might have been said, that such a Demand could not come but from the Conscience of one who reproached herself with having done something to draw that Storm upon her which she had formed in her own Imagination.

THE following was the prudent Answer made to the *Danish* Minister.

“WHAT is set forth in a written Memorial delivered by Mr. *Westphalen*, Counsellor of State and Envoy Extraordinary, by an express Order from the King his Master, has been most humbly laid before her Imperial Majesty. Whereupon her Majesty is graciously pleased to acquaint the Envoy Extra-

Extraordinary, that the Questions ask'd of her Majesty, and which are no ways customary among Sovereigns, must needs seem very strange to her; for as it would be look'd upon as very unbecoming in her, if she should concern herself with the Enterprizes of other Powers, and examine the King of *Denmark* about his yearly Armaments, in the like Manner her Majesty thinks herself as little bound to give either to others, or to the King of *Denmark*, any Account of what she does. Nevertheless, her Majesty condescends to declare to the King of *Denmark*, that she has no other Aim nor Intention, than to maintain herself continually, after the Example of her late Consort, of glorious Memory, in such a good Posture, that she may always be in a Condition to give necessary Succours to her Allies, and make good the Obligations she has entered into with them, as also to secure her Dominions and Subjects against all Invasions of Enemies, and sufficiently repel all who would offer any Violence; this being the upright and earnest Intention of her Majesty, which others have less Reason to be jealous at, because it cannot be taken ill of her Majesty, that she is intent upon, and takes proper Measures for preserving the Tranquillity of the North, her own Safety, and that of her Dominions and Subjects. Moreover, her Imperial Majesty declares to the said Envoy Extraordinary, that whereas a *Danish* Squadron of armed Men of War came lately into the Road of her Imperial Majesty, near *Revel*, and there joined a *British* Squadron, as is still there, though hitherto no Advice,

Advice, not the least Advice or Communication thereof has been made to her Imperial Majesty, which, however, unless the said Squadron is to be looked upon as that of an Enemy, ought, according to Custom and Equity, to have been done, as it accordingly was done, on the Part of the King of *Great Britain*, concerning the Squadron his Majesty sent to the *East-Sea*: Her Majesty thinks she is under a Necessity to ask the King of *Denmark* by these Presents, in due Form, whether this very extraordinary and hitherto unheard of Step of his Royal Majesty, ought not to be looked upon by her as an open Rupture? The said Envoy Extraordinary is desired, in the Name of her most illustrious Imperial Majesty, to procure from his most gracious King and Master a speedy Declaration upon this Matter, and impart the same to her Majesty, that she may according to it take the most proper Measures for her Safety, and the Preservation of the Tranquillity in the North. As for the rest, her Imperial Majesty graciously continues to the said Counsellor of State and Envoy Extraordinary, her Imperial Favour and Esteem.

St. Petersburg, July 19, 1726.

WHILST Things were carried on with a high Hand at *Petersburgh*, notwithstanding the great Complaisance shewn in the Gulph of *Finland*, the Negotiations were pushed on with Vigour in *Sweden*, where Count *Golowin*, supported by Count *Freytag*, forgot nothing that he imagined might prevent the States assembled to listen to the Accession to the

the Treaty of *Hanover*, which the Ministers of *France* and *Great Britain* strongly solicited. Prince *Dolgorucki*, one of the ablest Politicians of the *Russian* Court, was recalled from *Warsaw*, to be sent to *Stockholm*, so much the Empress had it at heart to bring *Sweden* from taking any Party contrary to her own. The *Russian* Ministers would have joined the Politick *Bassewitz* to Prince *Dolgorucki*, as an Assistant, to have supported his Master the Duke of *Holstein's* Interests in that Kingdom, but the Court of *Sweden* acquainted with the Conduct and Intrigues of that Minister, with whom they had no Reason to be well pleased, and whose Vivacity perhaps they feared, let it be understood that they should not behold him with a good Eye; therefore for Form's Sake two other Ministers of that Prince were sent into *Sweden*, who did neither good nor harm.

THE Instructions of Prince *Dolgorucki* were very full, and he had Orders to spare nothing to prevent the Accession to the *Hanover* Alliance, even to the Offer of a Subsidy of five or six hundred thousand Roubles. When this Minister had his first Audience of the King of *Sweden*, he contented himself with making a very short Speech, relating only to his Letters of Credence, without any Propositions concerning Affairs. General *Banier* answered him on the Part of the King, that his Majesty thought himself obliged to her Imperial Majesty of *Russia*, in that she had been pleased to honour him by sending her Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and by him to assure his Majesty of the

invariable Friendship of her *Russian* Majesty, and of her Intention to observe what had been stipulated by the Peace last concluded, and by the Alliance that followed it; his Majesty promised, on his Side, that nothing should be omitted to fulfil the Engagements he had entered into at the Re-establishment of the Peace so much desired, his Majesty having from Time to Time given indubitable Proofs of his Desire and sincere Inclination to maintain a firm Confidence and good Neighbourhood between the two Crowns; but particularly the last Year, when his Majesty (although he might have expected the first Visit by an Ambassador according to the Usage observed in Times passed) had thought proper to send an Envoy to renew, or rather confirm, on Account of the Emperor's Death, the Ties of Confidence and Amity that was between the two Crowns: That his Majesty would constantly persevere, and without Intermission, in the same Disposition, and direct his Councils in such Sort, that whatever Measures his Majesty might take with others, he would never depart in any Manner from the prior Engagements he had contracted with the *Russian* Empire, nor weaken them in any Kind.

WHEREFORE the Ambassador was desired, on his Majesty's Part, to assure her Imperial Majesty in the strongest Manner, of the unalterable Resolution which his Majesty had taken.

THIS Minister, from his first Arrival, always acted in Concert with Count *Freytag* the Emperor's Minister, who had already insinuated

ated the Article of the large Subsidy, at the Expence of the Court of *Russia*; on the other hand this Prince having brought M. *Reichel*, the *Holstein* Minister, Letters for the King and the States, which he delivered to his Majesty and the Diet, this raised some Difficulties: The States to give a Proof of their Attachment to his Majesty, and how far they were from any secret Collusion, would not open the Letter that was directed to them, but sent it to the King, who laid it before the secret Committee, and they, after they had read it, communicated it to the States in a Body.

THAT which was directed to the King was only a dry Compliment, and seemed to be intended for nothing, but a Vehicle to the Letter addressed to the States, which was more pressing, and wrote in the Terms following.

“ MUCH respected, and much esteemed *The Duke of Holstein's Letter to the States of Sweden.* Assembly of the States of the Kingdom of *Sweden.*

WE cannot, without being wanting to ourselves, on the agreeable Occasion of the approaching general Diet, decline shewing to the laudable Body of the States by this our Letter, that at the Conclusion of the last Diet, we were comforted in the most sensible Manner, by the Declaration and full Assurance of Good-will, that the very laudable States of the Kingdom were pleased to give us by his Majesty.

OUR Mind and Heart overwhelmed by the hard Oppression of *Denmark*, is thereby greatly

re-animated, and with the more Reason, as we perceive we have not been forgot by our dear Country, but, on the contrary, as we are entirely persuaded that the noble Blood of *Sweden*, so renowned through all the World, is no less warm in our Favour, in the Hearts of our much loved and dear Countrymen, than the same Blood in our own Veins will always beat high in Favour of *Sweden*.

THE Sentiments of Acknowledgment that we are fill'd with on this Occasion, cannot be sufficiently expressed in their full Extent by any Words. We therefore rather leave to every sincere Patriot and Inhabitant of *Sweden* the Care of expressing more at large, according to his honest Intentions, and as his *Swedish* Heart shall suggest to him, our Gratitude, which is not to be shewn by any Language we can use.

It is certain, that no one can be naturally and reasonably convinced, whether or no our Attachment to the *Swedish* Nation is sincere, perfect, and constant, but as he may be confirmed in it by the Effects, as Occasions shall offer.

In the firm Hope of which we are persuaded, that it cannot but be agreeable to the very laudable States of the Kingdom, that we once more lay our Heart open before them.

WHEN the defensive Alliance was concluded with *Russia*, the 22d of *February* 1724, it was at the same Time stipulated, by a secret Article, in what Manner the Restitution of *Sleswick* in our Favour should be undertaken, not only that we might recover what

is our Right, but also that the Tranquillity of the North might be confirmed, when that Stumbling-block, the Cause of all their Troubles and Disorders, was removed. We have hoped, from that Time, with a tranquil Mind, that, through the Blessing of God, we might soon enjoy an happy Result of that Treaty; but it seems hitherto, that the Almighty, according to the Sovereign Wisdom of his Counsels, has been pleased that we should place an entire Confidence in him alone, since by many Conjunctions and Incidents met with, sometimes by one Difficulty, and sometimes by another, nothing could be undertaken with Vigour in our Affair, much less any Thing to terminate it. The Haughtiness of the Court of *Denmark* has been so much increased hereby, that it has lately made a Declaration no ways equitable, that his *Danish* Majesty owes us nothing on Account of our Duchy of *Sleswick*, and that he would not enter into any amicable Accommodation relating thereto.

YET, notwithstanding all these Obstacles, it looks as if this Cloud of Affliction, which has so long hovered over our Head and threatened us, was about to dissipate, since by Divine Providence two of the greatest Powers of *Europe* have resolved to assist us with powerful Succours.

His Imperial *Roman* Majesty has not only acceded to the Alliance of *Stockholm*, as is well known, but likewise pursuant to his Love of Justice, and his invaluable Benevolence to our Person, entered into a new Engagement with her Imperial Majesty, our

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most gracious Mother-in-Law, by Virtue of an Alliance concluded with her relating to our Interest, in a Manner with which we have great Reason to be well satisfied.

WE have nothing more to wish to make our Happiness compleat, but that his *Swedish* Majesty, and the States of the Realm, would be pleased, out of their Good-will and Affection towards us, *to consent to what shall be proposed to them in the Diet on the Parts of the Powers abovementioned.*

WE are perfectly assured, that the most laudable States of the Realm, so remarkable for their Piety, Compassion, and Love of Justice, will, without any Scruple, come into an Accession, which tends to our Prosperity, and Deliverance from an Oppression so hard and so long, as well as it relates to the publick Good; nor is there Occasion to mention what all the World knows, that our hereditary Dominions were sacrificed only for the Service of *Sweden*; and what is likewise as well known, that we never pretended this Kingdom was obliged solely and separately to re-establish our Affairs.

WE shall not enter into the Detail of what Importance it is to this Crown of *Sweden*, not to suffer *Denmark* to be in a Condition to stir up new Troubles and Disturbances in *Sweden*, by their Use of the annual Revenues from the Duchy of *Sleswick*, and leave it only to the most laudable States to reflect, how much Grief we must be afflicted with, if after so long Patience and Attendance upon favourable Conjunctions, we again find ourselves exposed to the greatest Risques,

SOME

SOME sinister Accident may again happen, if we miss this Opportunity of the Assistance of two of the greatest Powers in *Europe*, and upon whom we can certainly depend.

THIS must be of great Advantage not only for you, but for your Glory, and give us Leave to add, for the Interest of *Sweden* in Regard to the present Conjunctures, if the most laudable States of the Realm would be pleased to make such Dispositions as might be hoped for, from the Activity of the next, and the succeeding Diets.

THEREFORE we send these Presents to you, in the Honour and perfect Confidence we hold of the just and solid Deliberations of the Body of the most laudable States of the Realm, as well as for their Amity and cordial Affection to us, waiting the favourable Result of this Affair, which we absolutely promise ourself from their Equity and Justice.

To conclude, we wish from the Bottom of our Heart, that the Almighty will be pleased to bless and crown all the Deliberations of the most laudable States of the Realm, with the most happy Success, for the general Good of our Country, and the particular Prosperity of every Inhabitant thereof.

We remain with all Affection,

Tenderness and Esteem, &c.

Petersburgh,
Aug. 26, 1726.

CHARLES-FREDERICK.

THE States made no Answer to this Letter; but it was answered by the King, as we shall see hereafter. In the mean Time the Affair of the Accession was vigorously pressed, and on the Arrival of the *British* Squadron on the Coasts of *Sweden*, Mr. *Pointz*, his *Britannick* Majesty's Minister, presented the following Memorial to the King.

Mr. POINTZ, "
Memorial to
the King of
SWEDEN.

THE underwritten Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of his *Britannick* Majesty, has received Orders to represent to your Majesty, that the most serene King his Master, who is always attentive to preserve the Tranquillity of the *North*, and to secure the Welfare of *Sweden* against any Enterprizes with which he believes it has been; and is still threatened, immediately after he had concluded the defensive Alliance the last Year, to shew his particular Regard to your Majesty and the Kingdom of *Sweden*, ordered the underwritten to join himself to the Ministers of the Allies, in communicating the said Treaty to your Majesty, and to invite your Majesty, in the most cordial Manner, to accede thereto, in order to renew and cement the Ties of mutual Friendship, and thereby to procure a Support more solid and more stable for the Security of *Sweden*, at a Conjunction, when almost all the Powers of *Europe* are strengthening themselves by new Engagements.

THE King my Master founded the Demand of this Mark of your Majesty's Friendship, not only on the Interest that he takes in the Happiness of a Nation always closely allied

lied with his Crown, and which has formerly maintained, with so much Reputation and Glory, the Balance of the *North*, and the Protestant Cause in the Empire, but also on the great and heavy Expences that his *Britannick* Majesty, and his Kingdoms, must be obliged to be at, if *Sweden*, for want of necessary Precautions, should be left exposed to the dangerous Designs of her Neighbours; but notwithstanding all the Advances of Friendship, and of his distinguished Consideration towards the Crown of *Sweden*, his Majesty cannot forbear complaining, in a friendly Manner, to your Majesty, that the Conduct of this Crown has not hitherto fully answered to his good Intentions, and to the just Hopes of his Majesty, since far from accepting of these Offers of Friendship with a mutual Warmth, he has the Uneasiness to find the Negotiation lengthened out for above six Months, by Delays that he cannot comprehend the Meaning of; and although this Treaty can give Offence to none, but such as seek Pretexts to trouble the publick Tranquillity, the Articles to which the greatest Exceptions are taken, being drawn up on the Model, and almost in the very Terms of several ancient Treaties with the Crown of *Sweden*; yet so many Difficulties and Exceptions have been formed against them, that if your Majesty's Commissaries are ordered to insist upon them, the Negotiation must drop of itself, without giving your Majesty the Trouble of a direct Refusal.

In the mean Time the Crown of *Sweden* has been found to enter into new Engagements

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ments with other Powers, who, if we may make a Judgment from the Experience of past Times, have neither the same Interest, nor the same Power, nor the same Inclinations to succour *Sweden*, that the Crown of *Great Britain* has always been in Possession of, and of which she has given, on many Occasions, such real and incontestable Proofs; moreover, it has been found, that these new Engagements have been concluded not only without any Restrictions, but with so much Facility and Eagerness, that notwithstanding the Crown of *Sweden* declared, by a Treaty signed in the Year 1720, that it was then of publick Notoriety, that, to the Prejudice of the Treaties of the Peace of *Westphalia* and *Oliva*, the Protestant Religion was so much oppressed and persecuted in several Places both without and within the *Roman* Empire, that it was greatly to be feared that Religion would be entirely destroyed; nevertheless it is not to be understood that this Crown, in her new Engagements, has insisted on the least Redress of those Grievances, nor that she has provided against the Consequence of them, on Account of the Succours which she is obliged to furnish, and which are more than double what your Majesty's Commissaries offered to us with respect to the Treaty of *Hanover*.

ALTHOUGH these long Delays, and this Partiality of Conduct towards the Powers, who, according to all Appearances and several Advices worthy of Credit, have no Good-will to the Crown of *Great Britain*, or the Protestant Succession, of which your Ma-

jeſty is a Guarantee, might juſtly have put a Stop to his Maſteſty's good Intentions towards *Sweden*; nevertheless the Conſtancy of his Friendſhip is ſuch, that for fear the Crown of *Sweden*, by the Delays which ſhe herſelf has brought to this Acceſſion, might find herſelf expoſed to Danger, his Maſteſty, to ſhew the Exactneſs with which he would fulfil his Engagements, and his Intention to aſſiſt *Sweden*, has been willing to anticipate to that Crown the Fruits of the Acceſſion, by ſending hither a powerful Squadron, without its being required of him, and by ordering his Admiral to come hither in Perſon, to aſſure your Maſteſty, as well by Letter as by Word of Mouth, of the Friendſhip, and of the Uprightneſs of the Intentions of the moſt ſerene King his Maſter, and, at the ſame Time, to inform himſelf if your Maſteſty apprehended any immediate Danger from the Armaments of your Neighbours, and in ſuch Caſe to concert the moſt precise Meaſures with your Maſteſty, and your Miniſters, for the Advantage and Defence of *Sweden*, by Virtue of the full Powers with which the Admiral is furniſhed for that Purpoſe; but as it has pleaſed your Maſteſty, ſince the ſaid Admiral's being at *Stockholm*, to ſignify to the underwritten by a gracious Answer in Writing, that your Maſteſty having ſeen the deſenſive Alliance with *Ruſſia*, do not believe yourſelf in Danger on that Side; it is to be hoped, from your Maſteſty's Juſtice and Equity, that if by the *Britiſh* Fleet's going away, and for want of Meaſures taken in Time, any Miſfortune ſhould happen to *Sweden*, it will

will not be imputed, as it has been very unjustly on some other Occasions, to the Want of necessary Orders given to his Majesty's Admiral, nor for Want of Inclination to execute those Orders with Fidelity and Punctuality.

AND as the Season of the Year, and the Conjectures of Affairs render it of Importance to his Majesty and his Allies, as well as to the Crown of *Sweden*, to know as soon as possible what may be expected on each Side, the underwritten has received Orders to beseech your Majesty once more, according to your Wisdom and extraordinary Foresight, to consider seriously of his Majesty's friendly Offers, and of the true Interests of *Sweden*, and to afford us a final Answer with respect to the aforesaid Accession, that may not give Room for the Allies of *Hanover* to think themselves amused by a fruitless Negotiation. I have received Orders, at the same Time, to declare, that there is nothing in the World, that the most serene King my Master more ardently desires; than a strict Union with this Crown, for the Repose of the North, for the free Navigation of the *Baltick* Sea, for the Good of the Protestant Cause, and for the reciprocal Advantage of both Kingdoms.

BUT if your Majesty, advertised in Time of the apparent Dangers which threaten these inestimable Benefits, does not think it convenient for you to enter into the necessary Engagements to oppose them, his Majesty will believe himself excused before God and all the impartial World, if he finds himself obliged,

obliged, though with great Regret, to take Measures elsewhere, to obtain the same salutary Ends by all just and convenient Means; and if in that Case, instead of going before the Wishes and Demands of *Sweden*, he contents himself for the Time to come, to fulfil his Engagements with that Crown, in the Proportions and Times marked out by the Treaties, and according to the reciprocal Friendship he meets with from the Crown of *Sweden*, and as her Care for her own Preservation may justify this Expence to the Great Council of his Majesty and the *British* Nation, who have so often supply'd her with Means for that Purpose without *Great Britain's* ever, till now, reclaiming any Assistance from *Sweden*, and without seeing any Probability at present of ever reclaiming it for the future.

BUT the most serene King my Master will always hope better from the Friendship of your Majesty; and, from the Wisdom of a Council so clear-sighted as that of *Sweden*, his Majesty cannot imagine that the Apprehension of Dangers can be a good Reason with them for not securing one's self against those Dangers, nor that the vague and uncertain Hope of some future Advantage, which the Crown from whom it is expected dares not avow, should be a Reason for casting off the Friendship of those Powers, which will always be the best Support of all the present and future Advantages of *Sweden*; nor lastly, that imaginary, and, perhaps, insidious Promises, ought to be put in Balance against a clear Subsidy of near an hundred thousand Ducats

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Ducats a Month, which your Majesty will be sure of by the Accession, and, in case of an Attack, of a more considerable Succour, according to the Exigence of the Danger, and that promised by Powers who are in a Condition to make good their Engagements, without being obliged to have Recourse to others, and who have not an occasional Interest only, but a constant Inclination to do Service to *Sweden*.

THE Underwritten hopes that your Majesty, graciously reflecting on what is said above, will be pleased at length to honour him with a favourable Answer, which being the Fruit of so mature Deliberation, may lay the Foundation of an eternal and indissoluble Alliance. In Expectation of which, he has the Honour most humbly to intreat your Majesty's Protection and Favour."

*Done at Stockholm,
this 4th of June, 1726.*

Signed,

POINTZ.

No other Answer was given to the strong Reasons contained in this Piece, than the holding constant Conferences to determine so important an Affair, which kept awake the Attention of all the North. The *Russian* Minister, to put by this fatal Stroke of the Accession, employed all that his vast Imagination could supply him with in the most flattering Terms in a Memorial, the Contents of which we may judge of by the fine Answer which the King of *Sweden* made to it, and which we shall give our Readers hereafter ;
but

but must first lay before them a Memorial presented by Count *Freytag*, which found not much Approbation, being looked upon as a desperate Stroke, and the last Arrow in his Bow.

The MEMORIAL of the Emperor's Minister, Count Freytag, to the King of Sweden.

“ **T**HE underwritten Envoy Extraordinary of the Emperor, had the Honour for a Twelvemonth to represent to your Majesty and laudable State, in the most circumstantial and extensive Manner, both by Word of Mouth and Writing, that the Treaty of *Hanover*, or *Herrebausen*, and all the Accessions under that Name, have no other Tendency, on the Part of the *English*, than to subvert the whole Constitution of the Empire, and the Subordination so well settled, and so necessary between the Members and Head; in a Word, to introduce an Anarchy, capable of entirely overturning *Germany*.

THE Scope of this Alliance is, under Presence of preserving publick Peace and Tranquillity, to stir up one Half of *Europe* against the other, first by an injurious Alliance, then, according to a fine projected Scheme, hurry it into an open War.

WHEREFORE the Underwritten has done all he could, in the Name of his Imperial Majesty, to dissuade your Majesty, and this Kingdom, from running into so dangerous a Design.

IN that Space of Time, he had, by the Assistance of Heaven, the good Success of
uniting

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uniting his Imperial Majesty and your Majesty in a defensive Alliance, by the Accession of his Imperial Majesty to the Treaty concluded with *Russia* in 1724, in Spite of all Oppositions of the contrary Party.

THIS Success made the underwritten Minister hope, that he had thereby put a Stop to all the Instances of the *English*, and that the Amity and Confidence which were established between the two States, would be unalterable.

TIME and Circumstances have since evinced, how vainly he flatter'd himself; and it is but too easy to prove, that notwithstanding all Remonstrances to the contrary, the Councils of the *English*, back'd by prepossessioned Persons, gain'd such an Ascendant, that upon their Solicitations, the laudable States of the Kingdom, to whom the important Decision of this Affair was referred, were convened much sooner than the usual Time.

THEREFORE the said Minister might make himself easy, and leave the Examination of that Affair to the Wisdom and Prudence of your Majesty and your laudable States, relying on their Inclination for, and Confidence in, his Imperial Majesty, assuring himself, that all the Proposals, either by Word of Mouth, or in Writing, have been faithfully imparted to them, exactly as they are entered in the *Protocol* of the Senate.

BUT because since the Time of the Convocation of the States, and Examination of the present Affairs, many Circumstances have occur'd, which make it appear, that the
Treaty

Treaty of *Hanover* or *Herrenhausen*, and the Accession to the said Treaty, cannot subsist with the Amity of his Imperial Majesty, the Underwritten finds himself indispensably obliged to expose the same, in an humble Manner, to your Consideration.

1. HE repeats here, in *extenso*, whatever has been alledg'd by him ever since the 17th of *June* last, N. S. either in Writing, or by Word of Mouth, to shew the Incompatibility of the said Treaty, with the true Interest of this Kingdom, and of your Majesty, as Duke of *Pomerania*, with the Interest of the Imperial House.

2. HE adheres, by Virtue of the reciprocal Alliance, to whatever the Ambassador of *Russia* has remonstrated, either in Conferences, or in his late Memorial concerning the Conduct of the Court of *England*, whose Views tend to disturb Peace, and how incompatible the Accession demanded here by the *English*, is with the Alliance of the Emperor and *Russia*.

3. IT is certain and evident, by credible Advices, that the Court of *England* spares neither Pains nor Persuasions with that of *France*, to engage that Crown in an open War with his Imperial Majesty, for which Purpose it has been proposed, that *France* should send next Summer towards the *Moselle* and the *Rhine* seventy thousand Men, in *Catalonia* twenty thousand, and in *Brabant* thirty thousand, to begin Hostilities, whilst on the other Side of *Holland* the like Body of Troops should act, and that an Army of thirty thousand *Danes*, paid by *France* and *England*, should

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be form'd in *Lower Saxony*, and eighteen thousand *Hanoverians* and twelve thousand *Hessians*, to kindle a War at once, both in the Heart and on the Frontiers of the Empire.

THOUGH this fatal Project, on the Part of an Electoral State of the Empire, from which we have so little Reason to expect it, still wants much of its Execution, *France* not having consented thereto as yet, and that the King of *Denmark* finds insuperable Difficulties in furnishing so great a Number of Troops, whilst he is in so dubious a Condition with *Russia* and the Duke of *Holstein*: This is, however, an Instance of the Ill-will of the *English*, who are endeavouring to direct every Thing in such a Manner, as to make both his Imperial Majesty and the Court of *Russia* lose all Confidence in the Friendship of that Kingdom, and even expect all Manner of fatal Consequences, as soon as, by consenting, in the present Juncture, to the proposed Accession, you unite yourselves more strictly with *England*; and really, in such a Case, the examining and judging of the Advantages and Prejudices of such an Alliance, do not depend singly on the Allies who contract new Treaties, but also on those who are willing to preserve old ones; for in the present Juncture, the Business is not to pretend to be in Friendship with every body, but to preserve good Faith and Confidence by observing former Treaties.

4. BOTH your Majesty and your laudable States must needs be sensible of the Disguise which attends the pacifick Motives proposed here

here by the *English*, for supporting the Demand of the Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover*, since the Underwritten notified here, that the avowed Enterprizes of the *English*, against the Crown of *Spain*, have been carried on as far as open War, notwithstanding all the Offers made, to no Purpose, by *Spain*, for preventing it, as notified here by me, both by Word of Mouth and Writing: Inso- much that the King of *Spain* was obliged to repel Force with Force, through a just Re- sentment of the unsufferable Conduct of the *English* among crown'd Heads, and for time- ly preventing greater Affronts, his *Catholic* Majesty thinking it more eligible than to see himself exposed to the Oppression which would attend the feigned Friendship of that Crown; this is the Reason why his *Catholic* Majesty caused *Gibraltar* to be besieged.

HIS Imperial Majesty is obliged, in Con- sequence of his tender Inclination for this Kingdom, and the Stipulation contained in the Treaties, of promoting the Advantage of one another, and preventing Damages, to declare to your Majesty what the Consequen- ces of it will be, that proper Measures may be taken for securing the important Com- merce, which is carried on between this King- dom, and the Dominions of the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*, because the double Mar- riage which is on the Point of being con- cluded between *Spain* and *Portugal*, will so firmly unite the Interest of these two Crowns, that whoever is an Enemy to one will be so to the other, and consequently those who shall enter into any Alliance with their Ene-
P 2
mies,

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mies, shall be treated, if not as declared Enemies, at least as such as may become Enemies; insomuch that the Commerce of this Nation would be disturbed and interrupted, and the Ports of *Spain* and *Portugal* would be shut up for all *Swedish* Vessels. Supposing the Accession should take place, you would be still under greater Difficulty, because in the present Rupture with *Spain*, the *English* pretend they were not the Aggressors, and by demanding the Accession of this Kingdom, *ad causam fœderis defensori*, they open to themselves a Door for demanding soon after the stipulated Succours.

5. THESE Motives and Obligations of the Alliance, engage his Imperial Majesty to caution your Majesty and your laudable States, to examine thoroughly, and with utmost Attention, the Affair of the Accession, and consider how far it concerns the Allies of *Hanover*, or how advantageous it is to them, to raise this Kingdom in process of Time? Or rather, whether the present Offers of *England* do not conceal secret Views, particularly to embroil this Crown with the Empire and *Russia*, in order to deprive it, by that Means, of all Hopes of recovering its former Splendor, and make it depend absolutely on *England*; deprive his Royal Highness the Duke of *Holstein* of the Succours he might expect from this Kingdom to restore him to his Dominions, which cost him so dear, and rob him of the Friendship, Affection and Prerogatives he enjoys here, with an Intent to procure one Day or other the Succession of this Crown to the youngest Prince of the Electoral House

House of Hanover, either under Pretence of the Want *Sweden* would stand in of the Protection of *England*, or by employing open Force; and who knows what has perhaps been done already to bring that Project to bear?

HIS Imperial Majesty submits all, and every one of the Articles of this Remonstrance, to the judicious and wise Examination of your Majesty and your laudable States, without taking upon him to prescribe any thing to them concerning the Resolution they ought to take, being only willing, as a good and faithful Ally, to lay before you, in a few Words, the Remarks this Accession admits of; which Remarks, in his Opinion, can have no other Tendency than to advance the future Interest of this Kingdom.

For these Causes also, his Majesty thought proper to declare, once more, naturally and openly, the Reason why the demanded Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover* is entirely repugnant with the Amity of, and Alliance with his Imperial Majesty, whatever may be said by those who imagine and would persuade others, that the Alliance of the Emperor may be made consistent with the Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover*.

THE laudable States cannot have forgot the Motives which inclined the Diet of 1723, to court the Amity and Alliance of the Emperor, which since that Time has been again solicited. His Imperial Majesty does not see that any Reasons of State, either on his Part or yours, have occurred since, which should break that Amity; on the contrary, there are

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several which confirm the Necessity and Advantages of it.

HIS Imperial Majesty so far relies on the Clearightedness and Prudence of your Majesty, and of your laudable States, as to hope that you and they are not ignorant of the private Views of some of the avowed Favourers of the Offers of *England*, and that consequently they shall not be preferred to the Interest of the Kingdom, nor to the Preservation of Friends abroad, and much less, that you will not, by this Accession, expose the Validity of future Treaties to the Diffidence of the rest of the Universe, by neglecting the Observation of those already entered into.

THE underwritten Minister demands a speedy Declaration on the present Memorial, and recommends himself, with profound Respect, to the Protection and Clemency of the King. Dated at *Stockholm*, February 17, 1727.

The Count of

FREYTAG.

THESE Pieces shew what was the Disposition of Mens Minds, and that of the Affairs between the two Courts. The King of *Sweden* had declared for the Accession, but he left the Decision of it to the States; and it may be judged, by the Stile of Count *Freytag's* Memorial, that the Duke of *Holstein's* Party had lost all Hope. The States were divided into two Factions, one called *Patriots*, and the other *Holsteiners*. These last

gave Birth incessantly to some Incidents that might employ this Assembly, and divert them from the Affair which was then on the Carpet. Such was the Plan of a Conspiracy and a List of the Conspirators, which was artfully spread about, and indeed occasioned some Surprize, but the Authors of them did not answer their Ends, for the Resolutions taken thereon by the States did not hinder the Secret Committee from going on with great Application in the Affair of the Accession, by whom the following Report was made, containing the Motives that engaged the States to accede to the Treaty of *Hanover*.

“ **O**F all the important Affairs referr'd to the Secret Committee, either by the Diets, or by particular Instructions, the said Committee has taken none into more serious Deliberation, than the secret Proposals made by the King to the States, concerning the amicable Invitation which the contracting Powers of the Treaty of *Hanover* have made to his Majesty and the Crown to accede to that Alliance. We have seen that not only our Neighbours, but also the greatest Part of the Powers of *Europe* waited what would be the Issue of so delicate an Affair, the Importance of which was the principal Reason that the present Diet began sooner than usual.

The Report of the Secret Committee established by the General Diet of the States of SWEDEN.

As his Majesty was pleased upon this Occasion, to desire the Opinion and Advice of his faithful States upon an Article which is of so great Importance to the Welfare of this Kingdom; and as his Majesty hopes,

that the States will interpret this Mark of his Confidence in them, as a certain Testimony of his tender Care and Vigilance for the Good of the Kingdom, the Secret Committee, in order that they may be qualified to declare themselves with the better Foundation upon this important Affair, have examined the Protocols of the Senate relating to Foreign Affairs since the Diet of the Year 1723, the Opinion of the Royal Chancery, the secret Correspondence of the Ministers, the Conferences held with Foreign Ministers, and other Pieces that might be capable of giving any Light into the State of Affairs; and having perused all the Arguments *pro* and *con*, they have weighed them with all the Care possible, and with the greatest Attention. The said Committee has also carefully considered all the preceding Treaties with the Emperor of the *Romans, Russia, England, and Denmark*, and the Relation they would bear with that of *Hanover*, to know if there was any Inconsistency between them, and what Security *Sweden* could find in it, with regard as well to the present Circumstances as to Futurity, and whether the Treaty of *Hanover* could possibly produce greater Advantages.

THE chief Thing in View has been to preserve the Tranquillity of *Europe*, particularly in the North, and to prevent any future Inconveniencies that might arise, among which it may be said, the Affair of *Sleswick* is the greatest Stumbling-block.

UPON mature Consideration of the Whole, the Secret Committee is of Opinion, that the said Treaty of *Hanover* is purely defensive,

five, and has no Manner of Tendency to hurt any Person whomsoever, but such as aim at raising Disturbances in *Europe*, and that by Consequence all who love Peace and Quietness cannot complain of it with Justice; it undeniably follows, that the said Treaty, as far as it relates to the Conditions upon which *Sweden* enters into it, can in no Respect be deemed contrary to the preceding Treaties made with the other Powers. What is a better Confirmation of this Truth is, that our Treaty of Alliance concluded in 1720 with *England*, which is in every Respect as strong as this, was not deemed by the Emperor of *Russia* to be incompatible with that which he concluded with *Sweden* in 1724; but on the contrary, it was expressly declared in the sixteenth Article of the said Alliance, that those two Treaties might subsist together, the rather, because the former was only Defensive. It is evident therefore, that what was not deemed at that Time prejudicial to the Friendship and strict Union between *Sweden* and *Russia*, cannot bear any other Construction at this Day, and consequently it is for this Reason that in our Act of Accession we have expressly declared, that by this Alliance we do not in the least renounce those which *Sweden* may have made with the other Powers, and which still remain entire.

THE Peace and Security of the Kingdom in its present exhausted State, cannot have a more firm Support under the Divine Blessing, than in the Alliances with Monarchs who have the same Interests as ourselves, and from whom, in case of Need, we may expect suf-

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cient Succours. Moreover, by this Alliance, for the Honour of the Kingdom, and for the Maintenance of the Protestant Religion, we shall not only preserve that Confidence which the Protestant Powers have always repos'd in the Crown of *Sweden*; but we may also, by a good Understanding with *France*, and with the Maritime Powers, cause our Commerce to flourish, which is the only Way to recover this Kingdom, and to draw it out of the Abyss into which it is now plunged; not to mention that *Sweden*, by this Alliance, has stipulated greater Succours, and more Advantages, than by the Treaty concluded with *England* in 1720.

As to the Affair of *Sleswick*, the Accession of his Majesty to the Treaty of *Hanover*, is looked upon as the most effectual Means to continue the sincere Affection which he bears to his Royal Highness the Duke of *Holstein*, and, at the same Time, to perform the Engagements of Alliance with *Russia*, and particularly the secret Article, without infringing the Peace of *Denmark*, which is confirmed by the strongest Guaranties; whereas by his Refusal, his Majesty would be deprived of certain effectual Means to employ his good Offices for his Royal Highness.

THESE are all the Reasons that can be made publick. The others, which are stronger, stand in too near Relation to several Secrets of State, and have too much Influence on the Interests of Foreign Powers to be made publick, without Prejudice to the Oath and Instructions of the Secret Committee, as well as to the Welfare of the Kingdom.

ALL

ALL these Considerations have engaged the Secret Committee to advise his Majesty, our most gracious King, to enter according to the solemn and friendly Invitation of the Kings of *France* and *England*, and to accede to the defensive Treaty concluded between them at *Hanover*, by adding thereto such Moderations and Restrictions as the said Secret Committee has judged necessary for the greater Security of the Kingdom. This is what the Secret Committee could not help notifying to the laudable States by the present Report.

It is the Almighty alone that foresees and conducts Futurity, who holds in his Hands the Hearts of Kings, and who directs them with his incomprehensible Wisdom, either to the Punishment or Protection of Mankind. Wherefore all the Secret Committee can do, is to affirm with all Truth, and upon the Oath they have taken, that they are convinced in Conscience, that this Step which they have had the Honour with all Submission to advise his Majesty to take, is such, that none of the Neighbours of *Sweden* can with Justice be alarm'd, or take Umbrage at it, the rather, because there is no Intention to renounce the Alliances heretofore concluded with them, but, on the contrary, to execute them religiously in all their Articles. There is also Reason to hope, that the Kingdom of *Sweden* will hereby be enabled to augment the reciprocal Confidence with all its Neighbours by essential Marks of Friendship, in order to advance by a Peace, and strict Union, its Interests and just Views; as also to be able, with God's Assistance, to take such Measures

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Measures at home, that their Friends may depend on considerable Assistance, and their Enemies, in case of any unjust Attack, may meet with a strong and vigorous Resistance.

MAY the Almighty God, who best knows our innocent Views, grant us his Divine Blessing herein, and unite all our Hearts, that Confidence and Love may flourish among us, and that Peace may enter within our Walls, and Prosperity within our Palaces.

Sign'd, on the Part of the Secret Committee.

Awed Horn, *Marshal of the Chamber of Nobility,*

Torst Rudeen, *Speaker of the Clergy,*
J. Bostrom, *Speaker of the Burghers.*

At Stockholm, March 15, 1727.

THE Deputies of the States of Sweden, made the following SPEECH to the King, upon the 20th of March, 1727, on Account of the Swedish Crown's Accession to the Treaty of Hanover.

S I R E,

*The Speech of
the Deputies of
the States
made to the
King of SWE-
DEN.*

THE Secret Committee having, by their Report of the 15th Instant, communicated to the States of the Kingdom, the friendly Invitation made by the Allies of Hanover, in order to engage your Majesty and the Crown of Sweden in the Treaty concluded betwixt them, the States were very much rejoiced to hear that your Majesty was pleased, in Consideration of an Affair of so much

much Delicacy and Importance to the Kingdom, to anticipate the Time of the Diet, and to shew your favourable Confidence in the States, by the secret Proposals which you have caused to be made to them thereupon, by demanding of them, at the same Time, their sincere Opinion upon an Affair of such Importance.

THE Report of the Secret Committee imported likewise, that having maturely and carefully weighed the Reasons *pro* and *con*, they have at length resolved with all Submission, to advise your Majesty to accede to the said defensive Alliance, by adding thereto certain Reservations and other advantageous Conditions which the said Committee had thought necessary for the Security of the Kingdom.

THE States being, moreover, informed, that the Committee, who have this important Affair in Treaty, have furnish'd themselves with the necessary Instructions from the Protocols of the Senate relating to Foreign Affairs, from the Opinion of the Royal Court of Chancery, from the secret Correspondences of the Ministers, from the Conferences held with the Foreign Ministers, from their Memorials, and from several other Acts which thereto relate, they rely entirely on the Resolution of the Secret Committee, to which they give all the Praise they deserve for the Time present and to come. They hope also, that by the Divine Blessing, this Alliance will succeed to the Satisfaction, to the Honour, and Safety of your Majesty, and of the Kingdom, which are always inseparable,

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separable, and that it will be productive of the happy Fruits, which your Majesty, and all honest *Swedes* have Reason to expect from it.

THEREFORE the States, upon this Occasion, cannot excuse themselves from paying your Majesty their most humble Thanks for the Confidence which you have been pleased to repose in them, by calling them together to consider on this important Affair. They wish, from the very Bottom of their Hearts, that it may please Almighty God to bless the wholesome and useful Deliberations of this Diet, to preserve your Majesty's sacred Person, and our dear Country, from every fatal Accident, to unite all our Hearts in a sincere and perfect Union, in order that we may unanimously labour with all our Strength for the publick Good and Safety, for the Glory of God, and for the Welfare and Prosperity of your Majesty and the Country."

The KING's Answer.

The King's Answer.

"WE always looked upon this Affair as necessary as useful for us and the Kingdom; but for greater Security we thought fit to consult the States thereupon: And we are glad to hear, that their Opinion agrees so well with ours. We thank them for their good and faithful Counsel, and we commend the Care and Wisdom which the Secret Committee has discovered upon this Occasion, hoping that this Renewal of Friendship with the Crowns of *France* and *England*, will, by God's Blessing, tend to the Honour,

Honour, Security, and Advantage of our Person and Kingdom. We intreat the Deputies to assure the States of our Royal Goodwill, and to congratulate them, on our Part, for this happy Event.

THE Instruments of this Treaty were brought to *London* by Mr. *Zolman*, Secretary to Mr. *Pointz*, his *Britannick* Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of *Sweden*, on the 3d of *April*, and, about the Middle of that Month, Baron *Spaar*, Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the King of *Sweden*, brought the Ratifications of the said Accession on the Part of his *Swedish* Majesty.

IN the mean Time Prince *Dolgorucki* finding, that he had miscarried in his Negotiations, made the following Declaration by Word of Mouth, and by express Order from his Court, to Count *Horn* the Minister of State in *Sweden*.

“ THAT her Imperial Majesty, his Sovereign, seeing with Regret, that all the advantageous Proposals she had made to the Crown of *Sweden*, had been slighted, she was obliged to change the good Intentions she had hitherto entertained towards the Kingdom of *Sweden*, and to pursue so effectually the Designs of her late Consort, that *Sweden* might have Reason to repent it, though too late.”

As the Party of the Courts of *Russia*, *Holstein* and *Vienna*, continued to publish, that there was much Danger, and a real Prejudice to the Crown of *Sweden* in acceding to the Treaty

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Treaty of *Hanover*, a Piece was published, in the Form of a Letter, relating to the Affairs of the North, which was as follows.

“ I am not at all surprized, Sir, that in your Province, where the People can have but a superficial Knowledge of the present Affairs, they should declare with so much Warmth *for* and *against* our Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover*: In a free State every one thinks he has a Right, and a sufficient Understanding to give his Opinion on the greatest Incidents, and Affairs of the highest Importance; and such who see the Steps taken by Princes with the Eyes only of a Gazetteer, or of Persons prepossessed, oftentimes decide with more Sufficiency on the Measures taken, than others who are at the Helm, their Prejudices appear to them as incontestable Principles, and their Conjectures as mathematical Demonstrations.

BUT I am greatly astonished to find, some Persons here, of great Knowledge, and well acquainted with the Interests of Foreign Courts both with regard to their own Country, and with respect to other Powers, should be mistaken in the Choice of what must be of the greatest Advantage to *Sweden*. The Evidence of the Alternative is such, as would admit of no Dispute, if there were no Prejudices to combat with, nor such Views as I know you are entirely exempt from, and which, it were to be wished, that all those who assist at the Deliberations in the Diet would sincerely renounce.

To convince you of this, I am going to lay before you, with all possible Exactness, the
Reasons

Reasons alledged by both Parties for the Negative and Affirmative of the Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover*, and, to help your Memory, you will find at the End of each Objection the Answer that you may suppose to be given to it.

OBJECTION I. Our Nation [*Sweden*] having need of Peace to recover her Strength, it is to be feared, that our Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover* may insensibly engage us in a War, either by drawing us by Degrees into Schemes which are hitherto concealed from us, or by the Court of *Russia's* taking Umbrage at the Alliance we make by this Accession with the Courts of *France* and *England*, which she has sufficiently shewn her Disapprobation of.

ANSWER. If the Peace and Tranquillity of our Country be the real Object of our Wishes, we can never better secure the Continuation of it, than by acceding to a Treaty, which has plainly no other End but to confirm the general Peace established at present in *Europe*. And we cannot better provide for our Safety, than by strictly uniting ourselves, and keeping Measures with those Powers, who are obliged, by their own Interests, not to trouble our Repose, and who, at the same Time, are in a Condition to hinder others from doing us any Hurt.

FRANCE, to judge of it by the Rules of good Policy, ought not to wish but that she may enjoy Peace during the Minority of her King, and should think of no War, or any Enterprizes, unless forced to it by the un-

friendly, or suspected Steps taken by her Neighbours.

ENGLAND has put herself in a Method of discharging her Debts contracted in the preceding War, and as her flourishing Commerce is the most abundant Source of her Riches, it ought naturally to be the principal Object of her Cares. Both these must be the Fruit of the Peace and Tranquillity of *Europe*, which cannot be altered, without the national Credit, on which depends a great Part of the Security of the publick Funds, being affected thereby.

THESE two Powers, in the mean Time, so perfectly united as they are at present by the Interest which each of them finds in it, see themselves in a Condition, by their Situation, by the superior Number of their Troops, and by their numerous Fleets, to keep a Check upon all those who would undertake any thing to trouble the Calm which reigns at present in *Europe*.

BUT supposing, against all Probability, that they should have formed any Schemes, at present concealed from us, and into the Execution of which they would willingly draw us, does not the Act of our Accession settle the Limits of our Engagements? And can they oblige us to go beyond them?

As to the Umbrages of the Court of *Russia*, they seem to be very ill grounded, if she has no other Aim than Peace and Tranquillity: And if she has a Design to trouble the Peace of the *North*, can we better secure ourselves than by the Support of *France* and *England*, which are, without Contradiction,

the Powers most capable of maintaining it, and which have the strongest Interest in it? Besides, are we absolutely obliged to chuse our Friends according to the Humour of *Russia*? Would she arrogate the same Right over us that the *Roman* People arrogated over their Allies? By what Title does she pretend to more Deference from us than from the Court of *Prussia*, which, notwithstanding the long Friendship that has been between them, entered, without her pretending to gainsay it, as a principal contracting Party, into the same Treaty, which it is taken so ill that we should accede to? If the Court of *Russia* acceded to the Treaty of *Vienna*, without consulting us, and without communicating it to us (without doubt because she found her Advantage in it) what just Reason can she have to take this Accession ill, if we find our Account in it? unless she thinks we are obliged blindly to follow the Steps she is pleased to chalk out to us.

OBJECTION II. The Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover* will furnish *Russia* with a specious Pretence of Distrust, which she may make use of to invade *Finland*, to ravage our Coasts afresh, and to carry a War into the Heart of our Kingdom, which may be dangerous to our Government and to our Liberty.

ANSWER. It is evident by the Answer to the preceding Objection, that the Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover* can give no just Cause of Umbrage to *Russia* against *Sweden*, since she has no other View in fastening this new Knot, but to secure her own Repose,

and that of *Europe*; but if *Russia* is willing to seek a Pretence to invade *Finland*, and execute certain Designs, which are sufficiently whispered about through the whole Nation, and which tend to the Destruction of our Government and Liberty, can the fail of meeting with it when she has a Mind, and when she finds herself in a Condition to execute those Designs against *Sweden*? How clear soever the Water flows from our Springs, may she not always accuse us of having troubled it? Can we then hope to find our Safety in our Complaisance, how blind soever it may be? Will that secure us better for the Time to come, than it did last Year (when the Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover* was not yet in Question) from the Enterprizes that the great Armament at *Petersburgh* was to have executed, if the wise Representations of our Ambassador, join'd to the vigorous Oppositions of the *Russian* Senate, had not set them aside happily for us? This Senate has been new modelled since that, the like Armaments have been made this Year, and Advices were received from all Parts of the true Design of *Russia*, of which, perhaps, we might have found the Effects, if the *English* Fleet had not come to put a Stop to them. In making the least Reflexion upon this, have we not the best Reason in the World to endeavour to secure to ourselves the Succours of those Powers who are interested in our Preservation, and who watch the Steps of a Neighbour going beyond his just Bounds?

ON the other hand, suppose that *Russia* threatens us with a like Invasion if we should accede to the Alliance of *Hanover*, is her Power so dreadful at present to our Nation, that, advertised of such a Design, we should suffer ourselves to be intimidated by it? A Nation which has given so many Proofs of its Valour, and which has so many fine Troops on foot, and those almost all headed by experienced Officers? It is certain, that the *Russian* Empire has lost much of its first Lustre and Vigour since the Death of the Emperor *PETER*; and those who have seen, as it is said, the bottom Cards, are strongly persuaded, that the Empress, instead of being seduced by the dangerous Counsels of certain Persons, who would sacrifice all *Russia* to bring about their Ends, will not send afar off those chosen Troops, which have established her Throne, and which are all the Security of it; nor will she expose those same Troops, or rather herself, to the uncertain Chance of War, especially as she may have Reason to apprehend the Reality of the Succours that *Sweden* may promise herself from *France* and *England*, by her Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover*, notwithstanding the ill-grounded Insinuations that are opposed to this Reality.

OBJECTION III. In case *Sweden* should be attacked, what Succours can she promise herself from Powers at so great a Distance as *France* and *England*? And may she not be swallowed up before the News of her being attacked can arrive at *Paris* or *London*?

ANSWER. *Sweden* to make head against *Russia*, in case she should think fit to attack us, has need only of Money and Naval Force. The Distance has not hitherto hindered either of the allied Crowns from fulfilling their Engagements with respect to the Succour of Money, and the temperate Climate of *England* will allow her Fleets to appear in the *Baltick* Sea, even before that of *Russia* can come out of her Ports. But supposing the *English* Fleet should be retarded, the Kingdom of *Sweden* is not a Conquest that can be made in a Trice, it is at least in as good a Condition, as in the Time of *Gustavus*, to secure itself against a Foreign Yoke, provided Treachery and Cowardice, with which our Nation has not hitherto been taxed, may not be the monstrous Fruit of our deplorable Disunion, which may give Encouragement to our Enemies, and embolden them in their Designs of surprizing us.

OBJECTION IV. Although *France* and *England* should be in a Disposition to assist us, that is, if *France*, whose Friendship to us has not always been the most sincere (witness what passed at the Treaties of *Westphalia* and *Nimeguen*) should exactly fulfil her Engagements, and if the *English* Fleet should act with more Vigour than in the Year 1719, would it be sufficient to secure our Coasts from the *Russian* Gallies?

ANSWER. How inviolable soever it is pretended, that the Engagements of Sovereigns and States ought to be, it has, nevertheless, been observed, that their own Interest has, at all Times, been the infallible Weather-Glass
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of their *bonne Foi* and their Promises, which has risen or fallen according as their Alliances have received more or less Warmth from the Events of Time, or the Alteration of Affairs. If, not to reckon wrong, we govern ourselves by this Principle, we may be assured, that as long as *France* and *England* (as we have shewn above) have an Interest in maintaining the Peace of *Europe*, and to keep up a Counterpoise to the Treaty of *Vienna*, we may be assured, I say, that the Succours that are agreed with them will be real; and if our Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover* serves as a Pretence to *Russia* to attack us, they will be so ready, and so vigorous in furnishing them, that we shall not need to be sorry at having been so unjustly insulted. We may even suppose, that very probably the same Interest of the two Crowns will subsist, and may secure us a long Time by the Solidity of their Engagements, because they have Reason to apprehend, that the strict Ties, that the Court of *Russia* has, at this Time, entered into with that of *Vienna*, may be perpetuated, and still more strongly cemented, when the Great Duke, or young Czarewitz, his Imperial and Catholick Majesty's Nephew, shall come to ascend the Throne.

It is certain, that by the Treaty of *Westphalia* we might have obtained more considerable Advantages, if *France* had been willing to have sacrificed her Interests to ours, or, perhaps, if we had stood firm ourselves, considering the victorious Arms we had in our Hands at the Time of the said Treaty; but it must also be confessed, that *Sweden* would

have obtained much less then, if she had not been relieved by the Succours of *France* after the great-Defeat at *Nordlingen*. As to those less considerable Sacrifices that we were obliged to make by the Treaties of *Nimeguen*, and others of the same Date, which brought us again into all our Provinces of *Germany*, if we make *France* answerable for them, has not she also a Right to reproach us, that the Use we made of the immense Subsidies that she then paid us, did not answer her Expectations, and that our Army, shamefully surprized and defeated at *Terb-Bellion*, acted neither upon the Plan, nor with the Vigour that had been agreed to.

BUT as Examples should decide in this Case, why do we pass in Silence over the generous Assistance that this same *France* gave to the late King *Charles XII.* of glorious Memory? The sorrowful Situation we were in rendered our Friendship very useless, and *France* drained as she had been by the Burden of a heavy War, which augmented the Value of her Assistance, shewed in the fairest Light the Sincerity of her Friendship for *Sweden*.

As to *England*, all our last Misfortunes have been the more openly and boldly imputed to her, to render her odious, as very few of our Nation were acquainted with the true Foundation of the least Circumstances that passed at that Time. We carefully concealed them to hide our own Shame, from whence it came, that the People incensed at the cruel Ravages which the *Russians* had committed on our Coasts, threw all their Resentment on the *English*, not being able to revenge themselves
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on the true Authors of their Sufferings. It pleased the *Russians* and their Adherents to fortify us in our Opinion, and, to divert that eternal Hatred, which their Conduct ought to have graved on our Hearts, they spread, on this Occasion, artful Discourses, filled with Malignity against the *English* Admiral, which, as ill grounded as they were, made a strong Impression on the Minds of the People, who if not already exasperated against the *English*, would have suspected these Insinuations of the *Russians*, as they were known to be ill satisfy'd with *England*. But let us come to the Fact.

In the first Place, they accused the *English* Fleet with having stopt in the *Sound*, at the Time it should have made haste to have covered our Coasts against the *Russians*. Secondly, that it did not answer our Expectations, nor the Promises that *England* had made to assist us in retaking from *Muscovy* our lost Provinces. Thirdly, they would have it, that the *English* Admiral had not put his Orders in Execution, being dazzled by considerable Presents from our Enemies.

Upon the first Point the *English* have shewn, that altho' they were not obliged to send their Fleet, nor cause it to act in our Favour, till after the Ratification of the Treaty then made with them, their Fleet, nevertheless, set Sail from the *Sound*, to come to our Assistance, even before the Signing of the said Treaty; so that, so far from being responsible for the Ravages committed on our Coasts by the *Russians*, of which our Slowness in concluding the said Treaty was the Cause, and

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and not the pretended Retardment of their Fleet, they maintain, that they saved *Sweden* from a general Overthrow, by their timely Assistance, as the late Emperor of *Russia* has allowed, which they could shew incontestable Proofs of.

UPON the second Point, they refer not only to the Tenour of the said Treaty, which contains none of those ample Promises, that many have thought to have been therein made us, but also pretend, that as their Fleet was only auxiliary, and its Operations depended upon the *Swedish* Admiral, we ought not to complain of them, if the Fleets neglected any Opportunities that might have been advantageous to them, and if that of *England* acted with less Vigour than she could have done. They moreover shew by the Memorials of Admiral *Norris* for concerting the Operations of the following Campaign, and by the Answers that were made to them on our Part, that we were yet irresolute upon the Plan for driving away the *Muscovites*. Indeed, when we trace back the Steps taken at that Time, we do not seem to have been actuated by that Vigour which is so necessary in Enterprizes of this Nature, but fatigued with a bloody and fatal War, we relied almost entirely upon our Friends for the Recovery of our Losses, while we gave ourselves up to the Softness of Peace.

As for the poisoned Arrow shot against Sir *John Norris*, it came from too feeble an Arm to do any Hurt. *M. Falischoir* would have done better to have maintained his own Honour, brought into Question by the Memorial
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of the *English* Minister, and not to have fought retreating, if he would have attacked that of Admiral *Norris* with any Success: If that Admiral suffered himself to be corrupted, it must necessarily be allowed, that his Orders were good and in the Forms, but that he did not obey them. The Consequence that follows will not, perhaps, be to the Taste of M. *Faliscboir* and his Adherents; for if the Orders of the *English* Admiral were such as must absolutely be supposed, in maintaining he had been corrupted, then there is nothing to reproach the Court of *England* with, unless the *Russians* should bethink themselves to advance, that the Court of *England* had under Hand desired the Czar to corrupt Admiral *Norris*; so that from a bare Connection of Circumstances, it seems, that under either Accusation there is more Malice and secret Wickedness than Truth, only with Design to blacken *England*, and raise a Distrust of her.

It is certain, that in the Year 1719, when we concluded our Treaty with *England*, we paid greater Regard to this Crown, as the strongest Party of *Europe*, on Account of the celebrated Quadruple Alliance, by which she was so strictly united with *France*, *Holland*, and the Emperor of the *Romans*, that we might have infallibly recovered, by Means of our Alliance there, the greatest Part of what belonged to us on the Side of *Russia*, if the Court of *Vienna* would then have made a common Cause of it with *England* and *France*, as was every where expected, and if the Emperor of the *Romans* would have entered into it, not only in Acknowledgment for the Kingdom of *Sicily*, which

which the said Crowns had just then put into his Hands, but as it was his own Interest, and that of the other Powers of *Europe*, to assist *Sweden*, and confine *Russia* to its ancient Limits, for the Preservation of the Balance of the *North*.

If the Imperial Court would have joined herein, all, perhaps, might have been finished in one single Campaign; but whatever pressing Instances and Remonstrances *England* and *France*, and even the Ministers of *Sweden* made at *Vienna*, all was in vain; nay, even when *England* demanded the auxiliary Troops stipulated between her and the Emperor by a particular Treaty, concluded at *London* in the Year 1716, they were refused under Pretence, that they were not secure on the Side of the *Turks*. By this Conduct the Imperial Court shewed, that she had not warmly at Heart either the Re-establishment of *Sweden*, or the Preservation of the Balance of the *North*; and it has been found, that this Conduct was the Beginning of that Jealousy of State, which reigns at present between the two Parties of *Europe*. For these Reasons *France* does not think it proper to engage in Troubles and Difficulties during the Time of a Minority, whilst the Emperor keeps himself quiet, altho' his Hands are at Liberty, and *England* of consequence finding herself alone, would not take upon her the heavy Burden of the War, nor undertake any Thing without the Appearance of Success. To judge then wisely, if we would look back without Prejudice to the Affairs of that Time, according to their true Circumstances, we shall find,

find, that it was not the Fault of *England*, that we made so little Advantage of our Alliance with her in the Year 1719. And if we are not willing to attribute our Misfortunes to the fatal Situation of Conjunctions, we must at least give Share of the Blame to another Court, as we have before made it appear they were blameable.

FINALLY, to judge of the future by the passed, our History, from the Time of *Charles Gustavus* shews us, that we ought to look upon *England* as one of our most solid Allies; and Interest, the true Touch-stone of the Faith of Princes, assures us with Certainty of that of this Crown, besides what we have demonstrated above upon this Point, by the Apprehensions *England* might have had of losing one of the best Branches of her Commerce, if the late Emperor of *Russia* had put his Project in Execution, of bringing the Trade of *Persia* and the *East-Indies* thro' *Russia*.

THE delicate Situation *Europe* finds herself in at this Time, and the Events that may happen to trouble her Repose, renders our Friendship so much the more necessary to *France* and *England*, as we are so situated, that, being entirely at Ease ourselves, we may keep a Check upon those Powers who would concur in so fatal a Design; for if *France* and *England*, who, in watching the publick Tranquillity, cannot lose Sight, nor abandon the Affairs of the *North*, should have Affairs on their Hands on that Side, it is evident, that the Powers of whom we have been speaking, would have a fine Game to play in the *South*.

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BUT what Instance have they produced, who would so artfully raise a Diffidence in us against *France* and *England*, and oblige us to give ourselves up to the *bonne Foi* of *Russia*, that may be an Example to induce us to it? Our History, both ancient and modern, is filled with the remarkable Effects of trusting to the *Greek Faith*; the Orthodoxy of which has not been brought into Dispute by what has happened of late Years. Our Neighbours of *Poland* and *Denmark* still tremble, when they remember the Danger they ran by their too great Confidence in the Alliance of *Russia*.

IT remains therefore only for us to examine, whether or no the *English* Fleet is sufficient to guard our Coasts against the Insults of the *Russian* Gallies, but the Example of this Year cannot leave us any Doubt in that Point; and this natural Demonstration is worth more than all the Arguments, that can be produced to prove the contrary. For whatever Wind blew, it was never favourable enough for the Ships and Gallies of that Fleet to shew themselves, which the Court of *Russia* so often assured us should come out and face the *English* Squadron, notwithstanding there was more than one Reason that should have engaged them to put something to the Hazard.

So it is thrown upon this, that *England* will be weary of the Expence of sending a Squadron every Year to the *Baltick*. But, besides that one Part of those Ships under the common Establishment are sufficient to form this Squadron, it is not to be doubted but *England* would maintain the Expence, although

though it was extraordinary, seeing she must otherwise lose the Fruits of what she has already done, at least, till such Time as *Sweden* finds herself in a Condition no longer to fear the *Russian* Marine.

OBJECTION V. If *Sweden* thought herself so well supported, that she need not be alarmed at the Danger that threatens her, then she ought at least to sacrifice her Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover* to the rich Hopes shewn to us on the Part of *Russia*, and no Offers from *France* and *England* should be put in Balance with them. She can be no more drawn in by false Allurements, since the Empress herself is willing to contribute to the Means of putting our Forces in Action, by furnishing us with three hundred Thousand Roubles, a Subsidy that the *Russian* Ambassador had Orders to augment to a Million of Roubles payable in three Years, that is to say, three hundred and thirty odd Thousand each Year. It is not likely that the Empress of *Russia* should act with so much Confidence, if she had not a sincere Intention to execute, at proper Times and Place, the Designs she has formed for the Good of *Sweden*, and of his Royal Highness.

ANSWER. Hitherto those great Advantages, which it has been whispered about, were intended for us, have been like the Flowers produced by Chymists from their Ashes, which vanish the Moment you go to lay hold of them. Is there any Body who can assure us with Truth, that they have seen the least Certainty of any Thing, that good Policy might rely on in a Case of such Importance?

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tance? It is true, the Integrity and Capacity of the Ambassador, that we have had at the Court of *Petersburgh*, to whose Honour they might have trusted this important Mystery, has answer'd to you for its Existence; but, as the most experienced Ministers may be deceived by the Caresses and false Confidences of a certain Court, and lull us asleep by fatal Assurances, we cannot be blamed if we are more upon our Guard than formerly, and require those certain Securities, which the least distrustful Prudence ought to demand on Occasions of this Nature.

In the mean Time, let us take it for granted, that the Dispositions of the Empress, on this Account, are the most sincere, and that she is resolved to give all the Assurances that can be required of her; it is, nevertheless, incontestable, that she will never resolve to fulfil them, but as she has thereby a Prospect of the Settlement of her Family. From this Principle, which directs all her Measures, a natural Consequence follows, that as different Cases may happen, she will never resolve that her Projects should be put in Execution in her Life-time.

THE Princess, her eldest Daughter, may die before his Royal Highness, or his Royal Highness before the Princess, without leaving any Children. Would she then strip herself only for the Love of *Sweden*, of all that is the most valuable to her, and trust the Fate of the youngest Princess, and perhaps her own, to the Acknowledgments of a foreign Power, how much soever that Power may be indebted to her? Would she sacrifice her
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own Safety to such a Tenderness for her Daughter, how flattering soever the Prospect may be, and expose herself to the almost inevitable Reverse of Fortune, how well concerted soever she may imagine the Measures she has taken?

It is not then till after her Death, that we can hope to enjoy these great Advantages; but who shall charge themselves with her last Will? Can it be the Emperor of the *Romans*, whose Interest it is, that his Nephew, in mounting the Throne of *Russia*, should preserve the Empire to himself as entire as possible, without which he can draw no Advantage from him? Besides, he is, by the Situation of his Dominions, at too great a Distance to fulfil, whenever he should be disposed to it, the Promises he should take upon him to make. Shall it be the Republick of *Poland*, or the King of *Prussia*? The first has, at all Times, seen those Jewels in our Hands which she has desired herself; and the other pretends to nothing less, for the Reward of his Guaranty, than to have a considerable Share in our Spoils. Or, lastly, shall it be the new Emperor of *Russia*? Will he regard the Dispositions of a Princess whose Memory cannot be agreeable to him for more Reasons than one; and content with the vast Share he has, will he quietly desist from that which gives *Russia* all the Consideration she has in *Europe*? In waiting for an Event so doubtful, not to say almost impossible, and which, at best, is at a great Distance, we must be always in a Dependance upon the Court of *Peterburgh*. We must regulate all our Measures, and all

our Councils, according to her Will and Pleasure: We must enter into all her Views and Designs, otherwise we shall be, every Moment, threatened with losing the Hopes of those Advantages which she has shewn to us; for this Court will always find it her Interest to keep us as much in Suspence as may be by this Lure, that she may always have us at her Devotion. For the same Reason she would have us renounce the Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover*, that we may have no other Powers to rely upon, which is to deprive us of the Independance in which God and Nature has placed us, and which we cannot preserve but by our Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover*, which fixes the Basis of our Happiness, the Repose, Tranquillity and Independance of our Councils, and of every Thing else. Shall we then neglect the Offers of *France* and *England*, who are able and willing to put us in a Condition to take Advantage of all Opportunities and Conjunctures to govern ourselves by ourselves?

In short, let us not be turned out of our right Road by an *Ignis fatuus*, or *Will-in-the-Wisp*, and let the Empress of *Russia* shew her Affection to us, not only by fair Words and fine Promises, but by something that is real. If, to begin, she would only promise us *Wybourg*, it would be easy for us to bring *France* and *England* to guaranty to us so considerable a Present; but, to omit nothing that may serve to give us Light herein, we will examine more narrowly these great pretended Advantages, in what they consist, of what

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Nature they are, and how they may be put in Execution.

It is pretended, that the Empress of *Russia* foreseeing, that she cannot long maintain herself on the Throne, has thought, in Time, of securing a Retreat in *Sweden*, by putting us before-hand in Possession of all, or the greatest Part of, those Places and Provinces which *Russia* has taken from us; that, with this View, she requires *Finland* to be reinforced by a new Body of Troops transported from *Sweden*, to be at Hand to put us in Possession of the Towns and Countries which are one Day to be restored to us.

THIS is the Discourse that is whispered here; but it is not easy to imagine, that this Princess could ever think of it, since it is a Thing so extravagant, so delicate, and even so dangerous for her, who is the Regent of the Country, that we ought to be astonished, that such an Offer should be attributed to her, and there is the less Reason to believe it, or look upon it, as probable, that there has been seriously any such Design, as it is made publick among us, whereas Designs of this Nature are to be concealed in such a Manner, before the Blow is struck, that no Body may know the least of them, except the Sovereigns themselves, and some few of those who are to put them in Execution. No one in his Senses can imagine, that the *Russian* Nation would consent to this, but rather that it should be shock'd at such a Design, not only with regard to the Empress, but with regard to us, as endeavouring to take away Provinces from them, which we have not only yielded, but

guaranty'd to them. This would be a true Way to irritate them against us, which has been endeavour'd hitherto to be done without Success.

AND if by our Conduct, in refusing the Offer that is made us, to be admitted into the Alliance of *Hanover*, we should offend or estrange from us *France* and *England*, who can we then call upon to assist us? It is too gross for us to imagine, that the *Russian* Nation, or those among them, who have any Concern for the Interests of their Country, should not have heard the Report of this grand Secret, which runs among us from one End of the Kingdom to the other. A certain Sign that they have been already advertised of it, is, that, within this little while, it has been publickly forbid at *Wybourg*, under severe Penalties, to make any Mention of the Empress's, or any one whomsoever having a Design to deliver up that Town and Fortress. There may, perhaps, be certain Persons who endeavour to bring us to listen to this, that it may serve them as a Means to irritate *Russia* against us; the Affair is very perplexing and very delicate, and we must act with great Caution, that we may not, like the Dog in the Fable, catch at a Shadow and lose the Substance. As it is an Extravagance to imagine that the Empress of *Russia* thinks of any such Designs, which would be too hazardous, as well for her to propose or insinuate, as for us to give Ear to; it is the more astonishing, that there should be those found among us who would endeavour to make us believe, that that Princess is actually

actually busied in such Projects, and that she takes all the Pains in the World to make them agreeable to us. But as there is a flattering Appearance which has hitherto imposed upon the Faith of some well-meaning People, we will examine the Circumstances a little nearer, and waiting till we may be better informed, we will look upon them not as a real Proposition on the Part of the Empress of *Russia*, but as an Artifice contrived to divert us from the Offers made us by *France* and *England*, that we may be obliged to throw our selves with all Submission into the Arms of the Court of *Russia*.

WE cannot but remark by the Bye, that these same Sort of People, who on one hand, talk so loudly of the Power of the *Russian* Empress, of the great Affection her Subjects bear her, the Effects of which are seen by her Fleets and her naval Armaments, and by the Regard that all *Europe* pays her; these same Sort of People, I say, represent on the other Side, that she must be obliged to fly from her Country before an Year is expired. It costs them nothing to send abroad these Contradictions, if they answer their Ends; but they can have no great Opinion of the Subjects or Inhabitants of *Great Russia*, if they can imagine all this will pass with Indifference.

THE Reason why some simple People among us find these Tales agreeable to them is, because they imagine, perhaps, that it is as easy to deliver up Towns and entire Provinces to Foreigners, as for private Men to transfer a Bank-Bill, a House, or a Country:

Estate: The Possessor of such Bank-Bill, House or Estate may freely dispose of them, and do therein as he pleases without being responsible to any one. A Sovereign may also sometimes, when that Power is given him, dispose, according to his own Inclination, of the Administration or Government of his Affairs; but he can never, according to the fundamental Principles of Civil Government, give away his Kingdom or his Country, without violating the Rights of his Subjects.

Our Projectors will reply, without doubt, that it is not our Business to put our selves in Pain to know by what Right the Empress may make these Cessions, provided *Sweden* has the Advantage of them; but suppose we pass over this Scruple, it is certain, that the *Russian* Nation will have as much Cause to be angry with those who receive, as with those who give them away illegally; so that great Circumspection is to be had with respect to the Principles upon which we act, we must first see if it be possible to lay hold on what is offer'd us, and afterwards how we may preserve the Possession of it.

In what Manner, by whom, and when will the Overture of this fine Offer be made? Shall we reject that of *France* and *England*, before we know any Thing clearly on the other Side? Would it not be a Subject of Laughter, if this Labour of the Mountain should bring forth only a Mouse? And shall not we have taken our Measures finely, if we should have before-hand disoblighd those two Crowns?

Is the *Russian* Ambassador, whom we expect, to treat upon this Affair? He may perhaps bring Money, and many Propositions, as we have seen not long since in another Place in our Neighbourhood; but if he comes to touch at all upon these Offers, we shall be able to make our Reflections.

LET us see now, what the Re-inforcement of our Troops, required by this Project, are to do in *Finland*. It is said, they will take Possession of the Places and Countries that are to be delivered to us; but let us know what Place and what Part of the Country the Empress of *Russia* will cause to be delivered to us first. It is said, that she will cause the Garisons of the Fortresses to march out, that our Troops may enter them; but this will probably depend upon the Governor, the Commandant or the Garison of each Place, who must be before-hand corrupted, or it is scarce likely that they should obey these Orders of the Empress. The Commandant of *Riga* would, without doubt, be the first of those who are to go out; but how can we suppose, that our Troops of Re-inforcement can march from *Finland* cross the Empire and all *Livonia* above sixty Miles, to take Possession of *Riga*, and that the *Russians* should not oppose them before they can arrive there, notwithstanding the Will and the Orders of the Empress? Will the Garison of *Riga* be gone out of it before the Arrival of our Troops or No? If they are gone out first, then the King of *Prussia* may take Possession of the Town as soon as we, and perhaps may oppose our

Troops, this Place being not less convenient for him than for us. On the other hand, a Governor that will suffer himself to be corrupted by the Empress of *Russia*, may not he also take Money of the King of *Prussia* or of *Poland*? If the *Russian* Garison remains in the Place till the Arrival of our Troops, and the Governor should change his Mind, what will become of the Project then? But it may be said, that our Troops may be transported to *Riga* by Sea. Then it would be better and more commodious to send them from *Sweden* rather than *Finland*, and it is all the same with regard to *Revel*. So that all the Advantage we can propose to our selves by this Project, and from this Army of Re-inforcement in *Finland* would be to put them in Possession of *Wybourg* and *Petersburgh*; but cannot our Troops that are already cantoned do as much? For if we are in a Condition to take Possession of the Fortresses that are to be delivered to us, we are also to send Troops of Re-inforcement thither, the same Cause existing. There is yet another Reflection to be made, that is, whether or no this Evacuation is to be made all at once? If it is to be done at once, as it ought to be, altho' that seems almost impracticable, then our Troops in the Neighbourhood of *Petersburgh* can contribute little or nothing to it. If the Evacuation is not to be made all at once, but one Place is to be delivered first, and after that another, is there not Reason to apprehend, that the *Russians*, perceiving such Treachery, may take Measures to prevent the Evacuation of the other Places?

Besides

Besides this, what Countenance can it be expected, that the King of *Prussia* and the Republick of *Poland* will give to all this? Is it likely that these Powers will look on with Indifference, while we seize on *Livonia*, and remain in quiet while we make such a Convention with the Empress, or indeed that she should put it in execution? Let it therefore be referr'd to any reasonable Man, and one who loves his Country, if *Sweden* has any Thing to rely on with Safety, and whether all these fine Offers and concealed Hopes are better than Castles in the Air, and whoever gives Credit to them, and builds upon them must not be more simple than *Hettors*.

AFTER all, let us suppose that, by these Means, we should recover our Provinces, either entirely, or in part, must we not be always at War to maintain them? There would be no more Assistance to be expected from the Empress of *Russia*; for after such a Step, Affairs would be ruined there, and we have seen above, what may be expected from the Emperor of the *Romans*, from *Prussia* and *Poland*; and what can *Sweden* do alone, without Money, without a Fleet, and without Magazines, against the great Power of *Russia*, and against the Approbation of other Neighbours, who would endeavour to take Advantage of such an Opportunity? On the contrary, what secure Assistance may we not have from *France* and *England*, who have so great an Interest in it, and would be glad to see a Conjunction present it self that might restore to *Sweden* what belonged to it on that Side?

Side? We have already shewn the Reasons for it, which are the Benefit of their Trade, and to fix the Balance of Power in the *North*; also that too great an Advantage might not accrue to the Emperor, if the young Great Duke should have them all together at his coming to the Throne. May we not see clearly, that the Alliance which the two Crowns offer us is very necessary to us, that we ought not to pass it by, and that, from all Sorts of Reasoning, the pretended secret Advantages from *Russia* cannot be put in execution with the least Security, for the Kingdom of *Sweden*, but by the Assistance of these Crowns? So that there needs not many Words nor a long Detail of Circumstances to prove, as clearly as the Sun at Noon, that not only the Amity of the Empress of *Russia* is compatible with our Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover*, as by this Engagement *Sweden* cannot, nor would enter, in any Manner, into what might be thought, with any Reason, disadvantageous to the Empress of *Russia*; but that we can never, but by these Engagements with *France* and *England*, obtain the Execution of those great Promises, and of those Proofs of Friendship which are shewn us at a Distance on the Part of this Empress, and which we ourselves hope and wish we may be one Day able to compass. Since then the secret Advantages do not hinder us from daring to accept of the Offer of a more strict Engagement with the said Crowns, it is an infallible Maxim, and an incontestable Truth, that we cannot better provide for our Safety
and

and Repose than by these same Engagements. For in case the Empress should support herself, and the Power of *Russia*, which is so near and so dangerous, should remain united and entire, we should not have so much to fear from it, having the Support of such powerful Allies, as if we were to throw our selves into the Arms of *Russia* alone. In the Affairs of State, where the Happiness of a whole Kingdom or Nation is consulted, no Security ought to be admitted but what is evidently seen, and, if I may so say, felt. Mere Words, Papers, and Parchment do not suffice, since there is no trusting in them any longer than one Party has a Power in its own Hands to keep a Check upon the other. A State that is but weak in it self, being between two powerful Parties, is greatly concerned to manage equally to preserve it self, and balance one by the other, to avoid, if possible, giving any Occasion for one of them to make an Alliance with the other against it; so that if *Russia*, does not shew her self favourable to us, for our acceding to the Alliance of *France* and *England*, we may have them for our Sue-cour, and *vice versâ*. Moreover, if the Empress should not support her self, we can draw no Advantage from any Occasion or Alteration that may happen on that Side, without the Assistance of these two Crowns.

It is asked why the Empress opposes our Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover*, and it would be difficult to assign any other Reason, but that this Alliance would not permit the Court of *Russia* to govern *Sweden* so absolutely,

absolutely, as she has done before, when we had no other to rely on but the Empress. To Set this Truth in a yet clearer Light, as we have already seen, that the Court of *Petersburgh* had nothing else to propose to *Sweden*, but the Hopes of her concealed great Advantages, in drawing us off from a more strict Alliance with *France* and *England*, we ought also to consider, what the Court of *Russia* would gain her self, if these great Offers should succeed: Which we may easily see by examining into what our Troops of Re-inforcement are properly destinated to, which they insist upon being transported into *Finland*; and it will plainly appear, that this is rather with a View to the Advantage of the *Russian* Court than of the least Utility to *Sweden*. In the first Place, there must be for this Body of Re-inforcement at least ten Thousand Men, besides the Troops that are already cantoned in *Finland*. According to this Project these Troops are to remain there, and wait for convenient Times to have some Fortresses or other delivered to them, as hath been just said; but we have already shewn, when and how that may be done. In the mean Time, the Court of *Russia*, on Account of this new Army's arriving in *Finland*, will have it thought that these Troops are ready for the Service of the Empress, to repress any Disorders that may happen in *Russia*, and by tying up the Hands of the secret Malecontents, will be more and more fortify'd in her Administration, and having no longer any need to secure a Retreat, when will the Time come to deliver any

any of the Places to us, according to the Offer so often mentioned? The longer our Troops remain in *Finland*, the less Appearance will there be of its Execution.

For what Reason therefore should we dazzle our own Eyes thus, and make the People of our Nation believe that we shall find our Account in it; when, on the contrary, without knowing what we are about, and puff'd up with mighty Hopes, we should assist, in the most efficacious Manner, to support a Power already but too formidable for us, and leave the Heart of the Kingdom without Defence? But without being satisfy'd with these Reasons, they farther expect, that *Sweden* should reject the Engagements with *France* and *England*, that those two Crowns resenting our Refusal may ally more strictly with *Denmark*; and that we, relying still more on *Russia*, may absolutely throw ourselves into her tender Arms, and quietly stretch out our Neck to her. If the Empress of *Russia* has Reason to endeavour at her own Establishment, has *Sweden* less Right to seek for her Safety? Good-Sense directs us on which side, not on that from whence comes our Danger, but from that where we may expect Assistance and Security; and from those Powers who have shewn us that their Intentions are upright and sincere, in that they do not require, that out of Love to them, we should give up our Friendship with *Russia*, as this last Court has desired with respect to themselves.

To return to the Project of the new Army in *Finland*, besides that the Court of *Russia* would

would be better established than before, not only without any Advantage to *Sweden*, but rather to her great Danger; there is still this Reflection to be made: Whether the Court of *Russia*, seeing this Army so near to her, may not, to make sure of it, employ the same Means, which she pretends were made use of with regard to Admiral *Norris*. Those who know the Weakness of human Nature, can best judge how far so great a Temptation may go, and, at the same Time, if it is agreeable to the Safety of the Kingdom, that *Sweden* should expose her self to such a Hazard. For if such a Misfortune should happen, and the Sea become free, as it would in case the *French* and *English* were repulsed, it is easy to imagine the Danger we should run from the *Russian* Fleet, which would be the larger as our Troops were diminished within the Kingdom, and as those sent abroad might be corrupted or bought. If the Temptation be so strong on the side of our Neighbours, and they have already Power enough in their Hands, it cannot be called too suspicious to advise the Kingdom to be upon its Guard, that it may not fall into so dangerous a State.

WITH respect to the Million of Roubles, which it is said the Court of *Russia* offers, no body yet knows how much that will amount to; but this Sum, in all likelihood, is as a Bait to make us relish the other Conditions the better, that is, the Refusal of the Alliance of *France* and *England*, and a new Army in *Finland*. We may judge by what has

has been said above, if we can take this Money without Prejudice to the Safety of the Kingdom, and if any Advantage would arise to us from it, or whether *Sweden* herself would not thereby sell the Chains and Fetters that are designed for her; and when, by artful Management, we are no longer in a Condition to be feared, they may even disappoint us of these pecuniary Promises.

OBJECTION VI. It is not only *Russia* that falls off from us by our Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover*, but we run the Hazard also of losing the Friendship of the Emperor of the *Romans*, whose Sincerity was shewn in the Treaty of *Stockholm*, and to whom we are indebted for the Obstacles, that the Court of *England* and that of *Prussia* found with respect to the Investiture of the Conquests, that those Powers had made upon us, Who shall answer it to us, that even the Court of *Vienna*, justly jealous of our Alliance with *France* and *England*, may not sacrifice the rest of *Pomerania* to the King of *Prussia*, to detach him from the *Hanover* Treaty?

ANSWER. The Amity of her Imperial Czarish Majesty is not indifferent to us; but it ought not to prevail over what is due to our selves, nor oblige us to shock those Powers who are interested in assisting us, who are more nearly situated to us, and in a better Condition than any other to do it, against those who could or would trouble the Repose we enjoy. If our Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover*, the End of which is the Peace and general Tranquillity of
Europe,

Europe, wounds the Court of *Vienna*, it may be suspected, with Reason, that their Treaty with the Empress, which has put all the other Courts in Motion, conceals some Designs to which the Accession may be prejudicial, and which would overthrow our grand Principle, the endeavouring to continue our Peace. It is to the Invitation of the contracting Powers in the Treaty of *Hanover*, and not to the Attention that the House of *Austria* has to our ticklish Affairs, that we owe her sudden Accession to our Treaty made with *Russia* at *Stockholm*. We had till then desired it for several Years to no Purpose, and we should always have met the same Coldness, but for the Measures these two Crowns were taking. Neither was it the Concern that this same House had for our Losses in *Germany*, that delay'd the Investitures of them to the Kings of *England* and *Prussia*; but it must be attributed to the ancient Policy of the Court of *Vienna*, and to the Conduct that it has been observed to maintain at all Times with regard to other Courts, which is to draw into Length those Affairs that are submitted to her Decision, according to the Laws and Constitutions of the Empire, and to keep those in a long Dependence upon her for her least Favours, which she thinks they cannot be without.

If *Sweden* had not incontestable Proofs of the Jealousy of this Court, with respect to our Settlement in *Germany* since the Peace of *Westphalia*, which put us in a Condition to support the Protestant Religion with Vigour against the

the Attempts, that were so often made upon it, we need but remember what Countenance she shewed us at the Time we were despoiled of our last Provinces, we then in vain implored for Justice from the supreme Head of the Empire against the Oppression of our Enemies; the Succours of *England*, which the Court of *Vienna* thought she should want, to guaranty her Dominions in *Italy*, made her deaf to our Complaints. These Facts must destroy the Opinion, that the rest of our *Pomerania* chiefly depends on the Friendship of the Emperor for us and our Deference to him. They ought rather to make us apprehend, that if the Court of *Vienna* could assist in the aggrandizing the King of *Prussia*, and draw him into his Party by the Charms of this rest of our *Pomerania*, that she would have no more Scruple to make use of this seducing Bait to tempt him, than she had to engage the King of *Denmark* in the Treaty of *Vienna* by the Offer of her Guaranty for the Duchy of *Sleswick*; in this Case can we better assure ourselves of the Court of *Prussia*, or put her out of the Temptation of giving Ear to any such Offers, than by acceding to the Treaty of *Hanover*, by Virtue of which our Possessions in *Germany* will be guarantied by Powers who are not only in a Condition to support us there, but who also have a Will to do it, and are interested in it?

OBJECTION VII. The Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover* is incompatible with the Engagements which we have made with *Russia*, by the secret Article of the Treaty of *Stockholm*, with Respect to the Business of the

Restitution of *Sleswick* in Favour of *His Royal Highness*; and can we, without Shame, abandon the Interests of a Prince who sees himself stript of the finest of his Dominions out of Hatred for his Attachment to Us?

ANSWER. The Incompatibility that is found at present between the Treaty of *Stockholm*, and our Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover*, is founded on the too extensive Sense that is given to That, and on Consequences which do not follow attributed to This. *Sweden*, according to the Intentions of the States, never took upon her, by the secret Article of the Treaty of *Stockholm*, stronger Obligations than to be willing to employ her good Offices, and to take amicable Measures, with other Powers, to effect the Restitution of the Duchy of *Sleswick*. She could not engage herself farther without directly contrevailing her Treaty of Peace with *Denmark*. The Declarations that the Ministers of *Sweden*, in Consequence of the Intentions of our States, have made in Foreign Courts, alarmed by the false Sense put upon this Article of the Treaty of *Stockholm*, have not been equivocal, and ought not to have flattered *Russia*, that we might enter into their Views. Since therefore *France* and *England* may guaranty to *Denmark* the Duchy of *Sleswick*, and as it is said in express Terms in the said secret Article of the Treaty of *Stockholm*, that these Powers shall concur with us in the Affair of the Restitution of *Sleswick*; and since besides that, these Crowns have the greatest Weight with the King of *Denmark*, let every wise and impartial Man judge, if we shall make
the

the most of our good Offices with *France* and *England* by acceding to the Treaty of *Hanover*, or by refusing to enter into it? We ought naturally to believe, that by the Alliances we are going to strengthen with these Powers, we may the more easily bring them to take his Royal Highness's Interest to Heart, and render *Denmark* the more tractable, especially if it should please his Royal Highness to second our Instances in the most proper Manner, rather than endeavour to engage us in Measures which would endanger that Repose of which the Kingdom has so much Need.

MOREOVER, what Prejudice can our acceding to the Treaty of *Hanover* bring to the Interests of his Royal Highness? Is there the least Question about the Duchy of *Sleswick*? Is there any one of the contracting Powers to whom we would guaranty the Possession of it? But the King of *Denmark*, it may be said, will in the End accede to the same Treaty, and we shall then be obliged to guaranty that Conquest to him. But does it not depend on us whether or no we will agree to the Accession of *Denmark*, and in receiving her, are we not at Liberty to except *Sleswick* from the general Guaranty? May we not even then find an Occasion to manage the Interests of his Royal Highness, and engage *Denmark* to satisfy them? Let us unravel a Part of the Mystery. It is imputed to us, that we abandon the Interests of his Royal Highness, when we would not prefer them to those of our Country; when we refuse implicitly to give into Projects ill directed, and

when we fear to expose the Kingdom, thro' our Love to his Royal Highness, to the fatal Consequences of an hazardous War. This Truth appears in all its Force, by reflecting that those who declaim the most against the said Accession, would find it very advantageous for the Kingdom, provided Satisfaction for his Royal Highness was stipulated in it. It is not the Advantage of *Sweden* they have in view, but the Interests of a Prince, who, how dear soever, he may be to us, ought not to be more regarded than our Country. Self-Preservation is the first Maxim of the Law of Nature. We are required to love our Neighbour as our self, but it is not said, that we ought to love him better, therefore a reasonable Love of ourselves has the Preference, and he who risks what is his own for another, without being obliged to it, or charges himself with more than he can bear, passes in the World for an imprudent Man, or something worse. If a private Man sins against this Principle, he suffers alone, or a few with him, if he has a Family; but if a whole Nation contravenes it, Thousands of People must suffer for it. For this Reason the Principle of Self-Preservation imposes an Obligation on those who have the Administration of publick Affairs to an exact Observance of it, since those who hold the Reins are obliged, not only to provide for their own Rights, and their own Safety, but also for those of a Nation whose Welfare is intrusted to them.

It is true, that those who endeavour to persuade us to take the Part of the Duke of
Holstein

Holstein so strongly, pretend that they insist upon it for fear this Spark should sooner or later cause a general Flame in the *North*; but besides that this Fear is not well grounded, since it depends on us to take Part in it or not, ought any one to set Fire to his House because it may be burnt another Day? Shall we engage ourselves, without Necessity, in an immediate War with our Neighbour, because some may imagine we shall be brought into it one Day, perhaps some Years hence? The Principles of good Policy commonly teach us, that when there is Time enough many Remedies are to be found, and that Things may be brought to a good Issue, although that could not be done at first, whereas violent and precipitate Counsels end only in Misfortunes. But let us suppose, that seeing an Impossibility of engaging the contracting Powers of the Treaty of *Hanover* to charge themselves directly with obtaining Satisfaction to his Royal Highness, we should reject the Invitation they have made us to accede to the Treaty, and should, on the contrary, take Measures with *Russia* to oblige *Denmark* to surrender the Duchy of *Sleswick*, are we convinced even of the Probability of Success? And may we not expose the Kingdom to Dangers, which cannot be thought on without Horror? Let us examine the Possibility of this Enterprize which they would make so easy, and the Consequences of the Engagement they would have us enter into. If the Army of *Russia* design'd to constrain *Denmark* should cross the Sea by the Favour of our Coasts, it will undoubtedly meet the

Danish and *English* Fleets in its Passage, and must either run the Risk of fighting them, and be lost, or else it will seek its Safety by avoiding it, and look for Shelter in our Ports. Is it not very natural to believe, that *Denmark* and her Allies will come thither to seek them, and that they will bring a War among us that will be so much the more fatal, as we shall have as much to fear from our Friends as our Enemies? Certainly the most shallow Policy will teach us, that we ought not to receive into our Country a People who are stronger than ourselves, especially at this Time, when such unhappy Divisions reign among us, and which may expose us to the Fate of the Snake in the Fable, which giving a Retreat to the Hedge-Hog in her Hole, found herself at last obliged to give it up intirely to him; if, on the other Hand, the *Russian* Army takes its Route by Land, before it can arrive on the Frontiers of *Germany*, *Denmark* and her Allies will have Time to assemble theirs, capable not only to make Head against it, but to go and attack it in the Midway. That it may keep some Check upon them, or to avoid coming to Blows, our *Pomerania* must be a Retreat for it, and will thereby lie at the Mercy of both Friends and Foes, even at the Hazard of our being stripp'd of it for ever.

BUT if the *Russian* Armies should have a more happy Success, will this Neighbour be more easy with respect to us in Prosperity, than while her Affairs were doubtful? Have we not Reason to fear that this Power, puff'd up with her Superiority, would make use of

it to advance the lingering and uncertain Hopes of those who would put her in Motion?

WHOEVER has his Eyes open, and will make use of them, may see well enough to what this tends, *viz.* to make *Sweden* the Theatre of the War, and to throw all into Confusion, perhaps at the Hazard of our Liberty. It is certain, that to what Side soever Fortune turns, the Allied Fleets, always superior to ours and that of *Russia*, will keep our Ports block'd up. What will then become of our Trade and Navigation, which seems so happily to begin to revive and flourish? Will not our Merchants be obliged, with Regret, to unrig their Ships, and be forced, as it has happened before, to abandon these Advantages to Strangers? What Difficulties shall we not find in vending the Produce of our Mines, which makes the best Part of our capital Stock, and is the most solid Basis of our Commerce? Is it not evident, that the Difficulties arising from an Interruption of our Trade must lessen the Price of our Metals, and the other Products of our Country, and enhance that of those Foreign Commodities of which we have Occasion? The *Russians* very probably will sell ours among them, who instead of taking from us, as formerly, to the Amount of thirty thousand Schipponds every Year, make so good Use at present of their own Mines, that they have not only almost no Need of our Iron and Copper, but can furnish a good Part of what is wanted at Foreign Markets; so that we have Reason to apprehend, that the Com-

plaisance we have had, contrary to the Example of all other Nations, in instructing them with Care in our Mines, may one Day become fatal to us. What would be our Case, if at a Time when we are incumber'd with the Produce of our Country, a bad Harvest should oblige us to have Recourse to the Abundance of our Neighbours? Should we not be reduced to great Perplexity, and even to Misery, if the Allied Fleets should prevent any Corn being brought to us, as it happened in *France* in the Year 1710, when they endured a great Famine there?

CAN the Establishment of our Manufactures, so advantageous to the Kingdom by so many Ways, subsist while there is an Interruption of our Commerce? Are we not obliged to draw from Foreign Countries a great Part of the rude Materials of which we have Occasion to support them?

ARE not *Schonen*, *Aland*, and all our Provinces on the Coasts of *Norway*, as dear to us as *Finland*? Have they less to fear from *Denmark* and from these Allies, than the other has from *Russia*?

CAN we imagine ourselves to be in a better Condition to make Head against several formidable Powers, seconded as we should be, but by one alone, whose Succours, the stronger they are, the more they ought to alarm us? Or is it not more reasonable to flatter ourselves that we should be better able to cope with one Power when we have the Support of several others, whose Assistance, how considerable soever it may be, can give no Apprehension

prehesion either to our Government, or our Liberty?

As to the rest, if the Loss that the Duke of *Holstein* suffered in *Sleswick* came from his having taken Part in our last War, it ought not to be placed to our Account, nor Reparation for it demanded of us. The Ministers of *Holstein* meddled in that Affair without its being required of them, and by persuading Count *Steinbock* to make his Army march thither were the unhappy Occasion of our losing that Army, the only Resource that could have saved our Provinces in *Germany*, the Loss of which was a Consequence of that same Army; besides, all the last Misfortunes of *Sweden* may be imputed to the House of *Holstein*, which, in making her build strong Fortresses, had been the Occasion of the League between *Denmark*, *Russia*, and *Poland*, which light up the last War. From the Time of *Charles Gustavus*, as we have espoused all the Quarrels of the House of *Holstein* against *Denmark*, our Complaisance for this same House has not a little contributed to bring this Neighbour always upon our Back, and to engage us in continual and excessive Expences.

THESE were the most solid Reasons, that both Parties alledged *for* and *against* the Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover*, which, in my Opinion, you ought to embrace. As to what is set forth by the meaner Rank of Politicians, it is as agreeable to their narrow Genius as it is below your Notice. You will easily see, by examining them, that both Parties pretend to take Measures to arrive at the same End, but that they travel in very different

different Roads, one seems easy and beaten, the other subterraneous, where the Darkness perplexes the Traveller, and obliges him to give himself up to a Guide, who, being seized himself with Fear, is not likely to be a good Safe-guard to another.

You will find, by making a Comparison between these two Roads, that one establishes our Security on our Complaisance to the Court of *Russia*; the other on the Support of Powers, whose own Interest renders them attentive to our Preservation, and who are in a Condition to succour us. One Party would have us choose the *Russians* for our sincere Friends, and entirely concert all our Measures with them, rejecting all Offers from *France* and *England*; the other thinks we should be in the Wrong to quit our ancient Allies, whose Assistance we have so often had, to throw ourselves into the Arms of a new Power, not well established, and uncertain in her Designs with respect to the different Events that are to govern them. One seems afraid of *Russia*, and shewing us *Finland* invaded, would have us take Counsel of our Fears, and guide ourselves by them; the other foresees and weighs the Dangers that threaten us, as well from the East as the West, and endeavours in good earnest to secure us from these Apprehensions, which render us incapable of undertaking any Thing, and thinks we cannot better assure ourselves of our own Repose than by making ours a common Cause with those Powers, who view the Peace in the same Light with ourselves, and by such Means keep a Check upon those who

who would disturb it. *That* renders the Succours of all other Powers than those of *Russia* uncertain and equivocal. *This* looks upon the Assistance that she would furnish us with as very fatal.

If we follow the one, we shall have the Pleasure to feast upon the rich Appearances, that are presented to us, altho' at a great Distance; if we listen to the Advice of the other, we shall find Advantages, tho' not perhaps so dazzling, yet present and solid.

ONE would have us only make use of the Water of the *Danube* to extinguish a Fire that is going to lay hold of us, and makes no Account of that of the Sea, which is within our Reach; the other thinks we ought to make sure of *this* preferably to the other, but nevertheless not to stop up the Source of *that*. One, in short, would have it, that the Interests of His Royal Highness, and the Happiness, Peace and Safety of our dear Country, must march in equal Paces; and that the greatest Part of our Happiness depends upon the Restitution of *Sleswick*; the other thinks that we ought not to wander from the Intentions of the States, nor expose all the Kingdom thro' an inordinate Desire of procuring Satisfaction to his Royal Highness, by following Schemes impracticable in their Execution, ruinous if they fail, and dangerous to our Liberty and our Government if they should succeed. As to the rest, neither of the two Parties ought to pretend to be believed on their bare Word, the Facts they advance must be founded on the Proofs they produce, and they cannot expect that we should decide any

Thing without examining the Pieces, free from that Prejudice that may lessen that Tenderness and Regard, which we ought to have for our Sovereign, our dear Country, and our Posterity."

THIS Piece, which seemed to come from the Pen of a Patriot, made a great deal of Noise, and so much the more, as it acquainted Foreigners with several Steps that were taken not much known out of the Kingdom before; besides that, it naturally discovered the Sentiments of the Patriots, and of consequence, what might be expected from some Negotiations then on the Carpet, and the too precipitate Measures entering into by some over-zealous Partizans. In short, all the Instances of the Empress of *Russia* and her Allies were useless, the Interest of *Sweden*, and even that of the whole *North*, determined the *Secret Committee* for the Accession, which did not pass without some Restrictions that still more disquieted the *Holsteiners*.

The End of the Third Book.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
R U S S I A,

To the End of the REIGN of the
Empress CATHARINE.

B O O K I V.

C O N T E N T S.

The Empress receives the Order of the White-Eagle from King Augustus: Installs the Duke of Holstein Lieutenant Colonel of the Preobrazinski Guards at the Head of the Regiment herself. A Marriage proposed between the Imperial Princess Elizabeth, the present Empress of Russia, and the Bishop of Lubeck. The King of Sweden's Answer to the Remonstrances of Prince Dolgorucki. A Relation of the Affairs concerning the Succession in Courland. The Government of that Dukedom; its Dependence on Poland, and the Genealogy of the late Duke of Courland.
An

The HISTORY of RUSSIA.

An Account of what passed at the Election of Count Maurice. A Project of re-uniting Courland to Poland. The Death of the Empress; her last Will; the Character given of her by the Emperor PETER.



HE Negotiations that were carrying on without the Empire, did not prevent the Empress from employing her Cares within to preserve the Credit she had acquired among her Neighbours: New Levies were made on all Sides, and she still continued to augment her Marine at the same Time that the *English* kept her Ports in a Manner block'd up.

The Empress of Russia invested with the Order of the WHITE-EAGLE.

IT was during these Transactions that King *Augustus*, who had powerful Reasons, in the present Situation of Affairs, to keep the Court of *Russia* in the Interests of the House of *Saxony*, shew'd a Piece of Gallantry towards her Imperial Czarish Majesty very agreeable to the Politeness of his Court. That Prince had instituted, in the Kingdom of *Poland*, the Order of the *White-Eagle*, which, till the Time we are speaking of, had never been bestowed but upon Officers of distinguished Merit, who had done him some signal Services; but to give an uncommon Proof of his Esteem for the Empress *Catharine*, and compliment her in the highest Manner, he sent the Ensigns of the Order to that magnanimous Princess, who received them with the same Politeness they were sent to her.

M. LE FORT, his *Polish* Majesty's Minister, received from *Warsaw*, the Collar intended

ed for her Imperial Majesty, which was extremely rich, being set with Brillants of great Value; and this was accompanied with two Letters from the King of *Poland*, one for the Empress, and the other for Prince *Menzikoff*. By the latter, his *Polish* Majesty appointed that Prince his Ambassador Plenipotentiary, to invest her Imperial Majesty, with the Collar of the Order, as being the eldest Knight of the Order of the *White-Eagle* in *Russia*. *M. Le Fort* had, on this Occasion, an Audience of the Empress, to whom he notified the King his Master's Intention, by delivering his Majesty's Letter, expressed in most obliging Terms, and to which her Imperial Majesty made a suitable Answer. Some Days after, Prince *Menzikoff* had likewise an Audience of the Empress, to whom he communicated the Contents of the Letter the King had wrote to him, desiring her Imperial Majesty to fix a Day for that Ceremony: Whereupon the Empress, to shew how sensible she was of the King's Regard for her, thought fit to appoint the Anniversary of his *Polish* Majesty's Birth-Day, when the Ceremony was performed with great Pomp and Magnificence, as follows.

In the Morning Prince *Menzikoff* went with his Barges to conduct to his Palace *M. Le Fort*, his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary, and Mr. *Malter*, Secretary of the Embassy, who carried the Collar of the Order, with the Star, upon a Cushion of purple Velvet, richly embroidered with the King's Cypher.

About eleven o'Clock, three of the Empress's Barges came to the Shore of Prince
Menzi-

Menzickoff's Island, to take in the Train. *M. Jagozinski*, her Imperial Majesty's Great Master of the Horse, was in the last of the three Barges, attended by two Pages of the Chamber, two Heyducks, and two Moors.

THE Great Master of the Horse being come to fetch the Ambassador and Envoy Extraordinary above-named, two *Polish* Knights took Place in the first Barge; in the second the Secretary of the Embassy, carrying the Order, and having at his right and left Hand the Counts *Sapieha* and *Wolowitz*, two other *Polish* Knights; and in the Imperial Barge were Prince *Menzikoff*, *M. Le Fort*, and *M. Jagozinski*. The Prince's Barges followed with his Officers and abundance of Lords to grace the Ceremony.

WHEN this illustrious Company arrived at the Stairs of the Imperial Palace, Count *Santi*, Grand Master of the Ceremonies, two Chamberlains, and the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, and the Court, went to the Foot of the Stairs to receive them, who marched afterwards in the following Order.

1. THE two *Polish* Knights. 2. The Secretary of the Embassy, between the Counts *Sapieha* and *Wolowitz*. 3. *M. Le Fort*, the Envoy Extraordinary, who walked alone. 4. Prince *Menzikoff*, having at his Right the Master of the Horse, and at his Left the Grand Master of the Ceremonies.

As they passed in this Order by the Guards, they presented their Arms, the Drums beating, and the Colours saluting them: When they came near the Palace, and passed between the Footmen, Heyducks, Moors, and

Pages who lined the Passages to the Stair-Cafe, M. *Shipeloff*, Court-Marshal, and Messieurs *Loewenwolde* and *Bestucheff*, Chamberlains, received them.

AT their Entrance into the Portico appeared Prince *Trubetskoi*, one of the Knights of the Order of the *White-Eagle*, who complimented the Ambassador in the Name of her Imperial Majesty: Count *Tolstoy*, another Knight of that Order, received him in the Antichamber, and complimented him in the same Manner.

AFTER which, the whole Company was introduced into the Presence-Chamber, where her Imperial Majesty was standing, surrounded by her Court, which was very brilliant, having on each Side of her the Knights of the Order of the *White-Eagle*.

THE Ambassador approached towards her Majesty's Right, the Envoy towards the Left, and the Secretary of the Embassy between them, holding the Cushion, upon which lay the Collar and Star of the Order.

THE Ambassador made a Speech in the King of *Poland's* Name, during which M. *Le Fort* took the Collar from the Cushion, and presented it to the Prince as soon as he had ended his Speech; which his Highness put about the Empress, embracing her; after which, the said Envoy presented likewise the Star of the Order to the Prince, which he gave to the Princess his Consort, who fastened it to her Majesty's Breast, under a Discharge of thirty-one great Guns from the Fortresses.

The HISTORY of RUSSIA.

WHICH done, the Ambassador, the Envoy, the Secretary, and the rest of the Company, were admitted to kiss her Hand, and took their Leave. They were conducted in the same Order as above, and went on board the Barges her Majesty had appointed for that Ceremony.

THIS had been preceded a few Days by another Ceremony, not less a Novelty to the *Russians*. Her Imperial Majesty having declared Prince *Menzikoff* Generalissimo, named the Duke of *Holstein* Lieutenant-Colonel of the *Preobrazinski* Guards, of which the Sovereign is always Colonel. The Empress was resolv'd herself to instal the Prince her Son-in-Law at the Head of this distinguish'd Corps. For this Purpose, she went, in a magnificent Coach, half open at Top, to the Parterre on the Side of the Admiralty-Office, where the Regiment was got together.

SHE had on a splendid *Amazonian* Habit of green Velvet, a white Peruke, a Hat adorn'd with a Plume of white Feathers, a Sword enriched with Diamonds, and the Staff of a General in her Hand. *M. Jagozinski* Adjutant-General, and several other Gentlemen of the Court, all on Horse-back with rich Equipages, and followed by some of the Grenadiers of the Body Guard, preceded the Coach, behind which marched another Detachment of Horse-Grenadiers. At the Sides of the Coach were two Pages of the Chamber, and eight other Pages, two Lacqueys of the Chamber, and ten other Footmen, six Heyducks, four Moors, and two Running-Footmen all in lac'd Liveries.

MESSIEURS *Uzupoff*, *Uzkukoff*, and *Soltikoff*, Major-Generals, who were at the Head of the Regiment came before the Empress, who was received, with the Sound of excellent Musick, by Prince *Menzikoff*, and being come out of her Coach, and put at the Head of the Regiment as Commandant and Colonel, the Duke of *Holstein* approach'd her, and she gave him a Ring, a Gorget, a Scraf, and a Partisan, in Quality of Lieutenant-Colonel. The Ceremony was followed by a general Discharge of all the Regiment. And her Majesty having made some Officers, went again into her Coach, and took a Turn all round the Regiment.

It was supposed to be about this Time, that her Imperial Majesty being at a great Entertainment, had a Glas of spirituous Liquors given to her, which was fatal to her Health, and shortened her Days: It is likewise said, that a celebrated Physician, whom she consulted, towards the End of the Year, on the Disorder she found in her Lungs, declared to her, that her Complaint came from the Hand of some Enemy, and that it was without Remedy.

Be that as it may, it is certain, that from the Month of *July*, this Princess never found herself so well as she had been before; nevertheless she did not apply herself with less Assiduity to the Affairs of the State, and to those of her Family. The Prince of *Holstein*, *Christiern Augustus* Bishop of *Lubeck*, and formerly Administrator of the States of the Duke of *Holstein* his Nephew, having by his Death left the Succession to this Bishoprick to Prince *Charles Augustus* his Son and Coadjutor,

jutor, the Duke of *Holftein* his Cousin proposed him to the Empress for the Princess *Elizabeth* her second Daughter. Her Imperial Majesty neither approved nor disapproved the Design, but bid the Duke cause his Cousin to come to *Petersburgh*. This young Prince was at that Time making the Tour of *Italy*, where he received the News of his Father's Death, and Letters, about the same Time, informing him of what the Duke of *Holftein* was negotiating in his Favour, inviting him to come to him with all Speed, for fear too long a Delay might frustrate a Design which would be of such Advantage to their House. The new Bishop lost no Time, but he did not find Things so far advanced as he imagined, because there were others who pretended to the Honour of espousing the Imperial Princess, and a strong Party was murmuring and complaining of their Country's being delivered up to *Germans*, by so many Princes of that Nation being received at Court: They had in view the Princes of *Holftein*, and the Princes of *Hesse-Hombourg*.

THE Negotiation of this Marriage was therefore to be kept a great Secret, and the Empress, who was very well pleased with the young Prince, took great Care to disguise the favourable Sentiments she had of him, so far as to talk often of his going home to his Bishoprick, although she had resolved to give him the Princess, as it soon after appeared by the Disposition she had made in her last Will.

SWEDEN had at length acceded to the Treaty of *Hanover*, and his *Swedish* Majesty made

made the following long Answer to all the Remonstrances and Representations of Prince *Dolgorucki*, Ambassador Extraordinary from her Imperial Czarish Majesty; which we promised to give the Reader in the last Book, Page 206.

“ HIS Majesty having caused a Report to be made of all that passed in the Conferences held with the *Russian* Ambassador, and having caused the Memorials to be read to him which were presented by the said Ambassador, after having considered the whole Matter, thought it agreeable to the sincere Intention he has to maintain a perpetual and inviolable Friendship with her *Russian* Majesty, to give for Answer to the said Ambassador, that the repeated Assurances, in the Name and on the Behalf of her Imperial Majesty, touching her constant and sincere Friendship, were very agreeable to his Majesty. That his Majesty and the whole *Swedish* Nation have, with Pleasure, observed the remarkable Proofs of Esteem and Friendship which her Imperial Majesty has been pleased to give, by sending a solemn Embassy, and by chusing for that Employment a Person of Quality, and a Minister of great Experience. This his Majesty looks upon as an evident Proof of her *Russian* Majesty's sincere Dispositions carefully to preserve, and, more and more, to confirm the good Understanding, which reigns at present, between their Majesties and their respective Dominions; an Understanding so beneficial to their People, by procuring them the Felicity of tasting the

The King of SWEDEN's Answer to the RUSSIAN Ambassador's Memorial.

Advantages of a durable Peace, after having felt the Miseries of a destructive War!

'Tis with these Views, and to secure the Possession of such precious Blessings, that his Majesty and the Crown of *Sweden* have been so impatient to prevent her Imperial Majesty, by a like solemn Embassy, immediately after her Advancement to the Throne of *Russia*, in order to Honour the Beginning of her Reign.

HIS Majesty and the Crown of *Sweden* having consequently endeavour'd, on the one Hand, to preserve their Friendship with *Russia*, they have, on the other Hand, thought it necessary and conformable to their Interests, and to Equity, to carry it fair with the other Potentates in Amity, whose Views aim at the same End, *viz.* the Maintenance of the Tranquillity in *Europe*, and particularly in the *North*.

THESE are the Reasons, in Consideration of which his Majesty and the Crown of *Sweden* could not forbear giving a favourable Ear to the amicable Offers made by the Allies of *Hanover*, with respect to the Accession, and to enter with them into a Negotiation; finding upon mature Deliberation, that such a Proceeding could in no wise be contrary to the Treaties concluded with *Russia*, and to the mutual Engagements.

NEVERTHELESS, contrary to all Expectation, his Majesty and the Crown of *Sweden* perceive, that the Ambassador, instead of being wrought upon by those equitable and pacifick Reasons, has not only continued to make all Manner of Representations to divert his

his Majesty and the Crown of *Sweden* from such an Accession ; but also that he has represented it as directly contrary to the Treaties concluded, and as a premeditated Design to break off the good Understanding and Friendship with *Russia*.

THE Ambassador may nevertheless very well remember, that the Treaties referred to in the Years 1721 and 1724, are Treaties of Peace and Tranquillity : Now it being undeniable, that they only tend to the Maintenance of the publick Tranquillity, it is evident, that every Engagement which has the same View, can in no wise be contrary to it. His Majesty has caused the Treaty of *Hanover* to be examined into with a vast deal of Deliberation ; but instead of finding it worthy to be rejected, as the said Ambassador makes it, he therein finds a clear and well-grounded Intention to secure the Peace of *Europe*, against the Enterprizes which may one Day or other disturb it, having not the least Reason to suspect those confederate Powers of any other Design.

THE Misunderstanding which actually subsists between the Courts of *Russia* and *Great Britain*, is another Reason which the Ambassador makes use of, and from whence he labours to draw a Conclusion, that all new Engagements betwixt the Kings of *Sweden* and *Great Britain* would be contrary to those he has already contracted with *Russia*.

HIS Majesty and the Crown of *Sweden* are sorry to see, that this Misunderstanding still subsists, and wish they could contribute to an amicable Disposition ; but the Ambassador

himself will undoubtedly find, that the Crown of *Sweden* has no Concern in these Differences, which derive their Origin from the unhappy Times of War, which the Ambassador has been pleased to mention.

HIS Majesty and the Crown of *Sweden* would be much more pleased to see the sad Remembrance thereof entirely defaced, and they adhere to the Engagements in which the said Courts have voluntarily engaged themselves by a general Friendship.

As to the Squadron which his *Britannick* Majesty sent last Year into the *Baltick*, his said Majesty himself has declared the Reasons thereof to her Imperial Majesty. We make no Doubt but this single Circumstance will convince the Ambassador of the innocent Conduct of his Majesty and the Crown of *Sweden*, because they entirely ground themselves on the Faith of Treaties and Promises, and have had no Thoughts of alarming themselves with the considerable Armaments made on either Side, and much less to arm on their Part.

IT would be well if the Ambassador would explain himself, from whence the Plan could come that was communicated to him; if that Piece can be of such mighty Service to procure the Consequence which he has been pleased to draw from it; otherwise the said Piece may be looked upon as the Contrivance of some disaffected Person, who had a Mind to sow Diffidence and Discord.

FAR from entering into Views of this Sort; should they even be put in Practice, his Majesty and the Crown of *Sweden* would be

be the first that should oppose them with all their Power.

If we look back into the Histories of all Ages, it will appear, that *Sweden* has laid it down as an inviolable Principle, to defend herself with Courage, and to go generously to the Assistance of her Friends, when they have been divided among themselves by Rebellions and intestine Quarrels, attack'd by ambitious Neighbours, or oppress'd with Regard to Enjoyments so precious as Religion and Liberty.

We flatter ourselves, that by what has been alledged, the Ambassador will clearly see, that the Accession of *Sweden* to the Treaty of *Hanover* is very consistent with the Engagements of this Crown with *Russia*, which will always be religiously observed.

His Majesty having caused every Article and Period of the said Treaty to be examined, during the Course of several Months, and with all the Attention possible, has found nothing in it but what is conformable to the Right they have of putting themselves in a State of Defence, and what carries a very innocent Intention.

THEREFORE 'tis not till after a very long and mature Deliberation, that his Majesty has thought fit to enter into this Alliance; and he thought that to refuse the amicable Offers of two Powers so considerable in *Europe*, and which were always his Allies, would be contrary not only to that Friendship, but also to Justice.

THE Accession is made upon such Conditions as leave the former Treaties in their full Force;

Force; and suppose a perfect Impartiality, a true Defensive Alliance to procure the Happiness and Security of Mankind.

DURING the Course of this tedious Negotiation, the Interests of the Duke of *Holstein* have not been forgot, and Endeavours have been used to engage the Crowns of *France* and *Great Britain* to espouse them. This Request has even been push'd as far as possible. His Majesty has Reason to hope, he shall see the good Effects of it, having by such Renewal of Friendship gained the Confidence of those two Crowns; and he hopes also, that his Royal Highness will join his Interest for obtaining an End so wholesome and so desirable.

CONSEQUENTLY, the said Accession is so far from being capable to give her Imperial Majesty Reason to think herself thereby free from her Engagements, or under a Necessity of consulting for her own Defence and Safety, as the Ambassador has been pleased to signify, that it is the rather hoped her Majesty will easily be convinced of the Innocence of such Accession, and that she will persist in her good Disposition, and her Friendship for *Sweden*.

It is to be hoped from her Majesty's Wisdom and Equity, that neither Fear nor Diffidence, of which sublime and well-born Souls are never capable, will ever get the Mastery of her Heart. His Majesty and the Crown of *Sweden*, instead of attempting to disturb the Repose of their Neighbours, will apply themselves solely and carefully to maintain it every where, in order, by an equal un-

blame-

blameable Conduct, to deprive their Friends of all Manner of Reason to complain with Justice of the Infringement of Treaties.

FOR the rest, his Majesty receives with sincere and perfect Acknowledgment, the Overtures made upon that Occasion by her Imperial Majesty, for the Welfare and Advantage of the Kingdom of *Sweden*. The Offer which the Ambassador has been pleas'd to make, of concurring with his Imperial and *Roman* Majesty in a new Treaty of Subsidies, is a convincing Proof of this Friendship. And his Majesty will never fail to embrace all Opportunities, whereby he may convince her *Russian* Majesty, of his Desire inviolably to maintain, and more and more to strengthen the good Understanding, which at this Time subsists betwixt their *Swedish* and *Russian* Majesties, as well as punctually to perform all his Engagements, already entered into with her *Russian* Majesty.

THE Ambassador, as a Minister who wishes well to the Friendship and Advantage of both, is desired to impart to her *Russian* Majesty, a faithful Account of those sincere and equitable Sentiments of his Majesty and the Crown of *Sweden*, and to assure her of their sincere and constant Intention to preserve a Friendship with her *Russian* Majesty and her Empire: That those new Engagements will not in the least weaken the said Friendship, nor ever give Occasion to the Troubles or Calamities of War; but that they will rather contribute to the Preservation of the Peace, and to the Advancement of a flourishing Trade in the North.

THE good Offices which the said Ambassador will perform to the common Cause, by Reports so well grounded, will acquire him distinguished Honour and Merit in both Kingdoms, and his Majesty will always be inclin'd to give him effectual Proofs of his Royal Benevolence."

Stockholm, March 21, 1727. (L. S.) D. N. Van HOPKEN,

THE Affairs of *Courland*, and the Election of a Successor to the Duke then reigning, being a Matter in which the Empress of *Russia* was greatly interested, it cannot be improper, in this Place, to give a Relation thereof, as well as some Idea of that Government.

*An Account of
the Affairs of
COURLAND.*

COURLAND is an ancient Dukedom, which formerly made a Part of *Livonia*, belonged to the Knights of the *Teutonic* Order, and whose Duke had a Seat in the Diet of the Empire, whither he is still called, and where he has his Chair reversed. It comprehends two Parts, *Courland* properly so called, and *Semigallia*; it became a Sovereign State, although dependent on *Poland*, in the Year 1561, when the Grand Master of the *Teutonic* Order, *Gotthard Kettler*, renounced the Order, and having signed and sworn at *Wilna* on November the 28th, to the Treaty named the *Pacta Subjectionis* (as mentioned in the first Volume of this Work, Page 47.) was proclaimed, in the Name of the King of *Poland*, Duke of *Courland* and *Semigal*, but with the same Rights of Sovereignty that he possessed before, as that of coining Money, which the Kings of *Poland* have not, and an absolute

Power in Spiritual and Temporal Affairs, since he is in *Courland Summus Episcopus*, or Chief of the Church. Besides which, he makes Laws, and levies Taxes with the Consent of the Country; in short, the Duke of *Courland* possesses the Dukedom in the same Manner that the Elector of *Brandenbourg* possesses *Prussia*, which appears by the Letters of Investiture, wherein it is said, that "we confer on him the Title of Duke in the same Manner, and with the same Dignities, Honours, and Privileges that have been granted to the illustrious Duke of *Prussia*."

In a Word, to give an Idea of the Independence of this Duke, it may suffice to observe, that this is a *Fief offer'd*, and not *given*, and that the Duke of *Courland* has a Right to send an Ambassador to the Court of the King of *Poland*, receiving his Investiture, by his Ambassadors, with the following Solemnity: These are commonly received about half a Mile from *Warsaw*, by the first Secretary of State in the King's Coach, attended by the King's Lacquies and Heyducks. After this, the usual Compliments being passed, the Duke goes into the King's Coach, in which he makes his Entry; all the Foreign Ambassadors, many Princes and Senators of the Kingdom make a numerous Train in their Coaches, which are preceded by the Nobility and Officers of the King's Household on Horseback; and the Procession is closed by one of the Troops of Horse-Guards.

THE Day upon which the Duke is to receive the Investiture, the Steward of the King's Household, and the Secretary of State

go to wait upon him at his Palace, and receive him with the King's Coaches, the Drums beating and Trumpets sounding, when he arrives at the Steps of the Iron Gate, where three Marshals, two of the Crown and one of *Lithuania*, carrying their large Stuffs in their Hands, come to receive him, and conduct him to the Throne, whereon the King is seated, and the Senators standing on his Right and Left: After he has made a Speech, and received from the Hands of the King the Standard with his Majesty's Arms on one Side, and those of the Duke on the other, he is seated himself on the Throne, and is covered in the King's Presence, while the Gentlemen of his Retinue are admitted to kiss the King's Hand, and then he is conducted back to his Palace in the same Order he came.

THIS was the pompous Ceremony observ'd when King *John Sobieski* gave the Investiture to the Duke of *Courland*, *Frederick II.* Father to that Prince who married *Anne Ioannowna*, late Empress of *Russia*, and Niece to *PETER the Great*. We may judge by the Circumstances of this Ceremony, and by what we have said before of the Nature of this Fief, how much it is distinguished from others. To which let us add, that the Dukes of *Courland* have been Mediators between the Kings of *Poland* and their Enemies, as in the Treaty in the Year 1636, between the King of *Poland* and *Christina* Queen of *Sweden*; that they make Alliances with their Neighbours, as the Duke *James* made one with the Czar of *Muscovy*, after which
he

he had an Ambassador at his Court; that they receive Ambassadors from crown'd Heads; that they can raise an Army of fifteen to eighteen thousand Men; that they have had forty Vessels on the Sea, twenty of which carried from thirty to eighty Guns; and lastly, that their Titles run *by the Grace of God Duke of Courland, &c.* That the Kings of *France* treat them as *Cousins*, and that the Emperor calls them the *Most Illustrious*, and the Republick of *Poland*, the *Most Illustrious and Most High*.

THE Family of *Gotbard Kettler* reigned in *Courland* to the Time we are now speaking of, under seven Dukes, who were *Gotbard*, *Frederick I. William*, *James*, *Frederick II. Frederick-William*, and *Ferdinand*. The last, the Son of Duke *James*, and of *Louisa Charlotte* of *Brandenbourg*, Sister to the Great *Frederick-William*, succeeded his Nephew, who left no Children from his Marriage with the *Russian* Princess *Anne Ioannowna*, Niece to *Peter*, and Daughter of *John Alexowitz*. This Duke *Ferdinand* had been Regent of the Dukedom from the Time of the Death of his Brother *Frederick*, in the Year 1698, till the Year 1710, and succeeded his Nephew *Frederick-William* in 1711, when the *Russians* were become Masters of the Country which they conquer'd from the *Swedes*, who had taken it before the Battle of *Pultowa*.

DUKE FERDINAND was a *Roman-Catholic*, and of Consequence not very agreeable to his Subjects, and he had no Children, which was the Source of the Troubles with which *Courland* was menaced, and in which *Russia* was obliged

obliged to take Part, as well by the Alliance she had with that Duchy, as by the Protection it was fit she should give to the Duchess Dowager, and likewise for her own Interest and Convenience, since this Dukedom served for a Barrier, or rather Rampart to *Livonia* on the Side of *Russia* and *Poland*.

At the Time we are speaking of, the Republick of *Poland* would have absolutely reunited this Dukedom to the Crown, altho' she had never been willing to admit the Dukes as Members of the Republick, and would have divided *Courland* and *Semigallia* into Palatinates. It was thus that *Mazovia*, which was a Duchy at least as powerful as that of *Courland*, since the Dukes of *Prussia*, *Courland* and *Mazovia* were three Sovereigns equally independent of the Crown; it is thus, I say, that *Mazovia* lost her Liberty and her Rights, and that this Duchy, whose Masters would not oftentimes acknowledge the Kings of *Poland*, and where were reckoned near forty thousand Gentlemen; is no longer known, but under the Name of three Palatinates, into which they divided it.

THE Race of the *Kettlers* being almost extinct, as Duke *Ferdinand* had no Issue, and the Reunion of *Courland* having been mentioned in the Diets of *Warsaw* and *Grodno*, the States of the Duchy fearing the Consequences of this Reunion, and that the Division of it into Palatinates could not but be fatal to their Liberty, and especially to their Religion, since, according to all Appearance, these Palatinates would never be conferr'd upon *Courlanders*, but Catholick *Poles*, or *Lithuanians*:

Lithuanians: They resolved therefore to prevent any Resolution that might be taken on this Business, and, by Virtue of the Right that they pretended to have of electing their own Dukes, they proceeded to the eventual Election of a Duke to succeed *Ferdinand*; and their Choice fell upon Count *Maurice of Saxe*, Natural Son of King *Augustus*, in whose Favour they were determin'd as much on Account of his Merit, being one of the most accomplished Princes that could be met with, as to shew the Republick, that they did not seek to withdraw themselves from her Protection, since it was likely that the King's Son would not act against the Interests of his Father; they thought by this Expedient to conquer all Difficulties, to prevent Complaints, and to preserve their Rights, Privileges, Liberty, and Religion. But this was not agreeable to the *Polanders*, who treated them with as much Severity as if they had elected some Prince, who was under the Protection of *Russia*; which they might have done, as the Duke of *Holstein*, and Prince *Menzikoff* were both Competitors under the powerful Protection of the Empress; and even the Duke himself seem'd entirely to yield to Prince *Menzikoff*, who us'd all possible Means to obtain this Crown.

THE Design of the *Polanders* to reduce this Dukedom into Palatinates is to be look'd upon as the Spring of all that was done by the States. On the 22d of *May*, they published an Order in the Name of Duke *Ferdinand*, to assemble on a certain Day; which the Duke no sooner heard of, but he

set forth a Declaration, as well to protest against what the States should do, as against the Meeting it self, treating this Order as a horrible Attack upon his Dignity and his Name: But this did not hinder the States from assembling on the 26th of *June*, and on the 28th of the same Month they elected Count *Maurice* of *Saxe*.

THE following is an exact Relation of what passed at that Time.

ON the 16th of *June*, the Auditor-General *Sentrowicz* arrived at *Mittaw* with Bills of Exchange to a considerable Value: He made Propositions as well to the Regency, as the Nuncio's, and endeavoured to persuade them, that no one was so fit for their Sovereign as Prince *Menzikoff*. The Privy Counsellor *Bestucheff* made Propositions also, on the Part of the Empress of *Russia* in Favour of the Duke of *Holstein*. They both continued their Solicitations without any Opposition, till the 19th, when Count *Maurice* came in play.

ON the 21st, M. *Raguaski* arrived with a Rescript from the King of *Poland*, and informed the Regency of his Commission: He was assured, "that nothing should pass in the Diet, that was not founded on the Rights of *Courland*, or that was contrary to those of *Poland*."

THE next Day, Messieurs *Sentrowicz* and *Bestucheff* stirr'd much in the Affair, and made very considerable Offers. For three Days following Couriers arrived from *Petersburgh*, with new Offers; and said they were followed by Prince *Menzikoff*.

ON the 26th, the Diet commenced. On the 27th, M. *Bestucheff* made divers Propositions; but seeing they were not read, he represented to them the next Day, [the 28th,] that they ought not to conclude any Thing without knowing the Intentions of the Empress of *Russia*. This Declaration hastened the Nomination, and the same Day, Count *Maurice* was unanimously elected Successor to the Duke of *Courland*.

ON the 29th, M. *Lieben*, a *Courlander*, and Adjutant to Prince *Menzikoff*, arrived at *Mitaw* with Instructions from his General. And a Report was spread, that this Prince had caused a Body of 12,000 Men to advance.

ON the 30th, the same Adjutant dispatched a Courier to Prince *Menzikoff*, to give him Account of the Condition in which he found Things. The *Courlanders*, nettled by the Menaces of the *Russians*, determined to finish the Diet as soon as possible, and to unite themselves so closely with Count *Maurice*, that his Competitors might never more have a Hope to return.

HOWEVER these carried on the Business till the 3d of *July*, on which Day arrived fresh Couriers with Dispatches which seemed to intimidate the Deputies: Whereupon Count *Maurice* declared to them, that if the Treaty of Union was not concluded the next Day, he would go away.

ON the 4th, the Assembly took fresh Courage, and every Thing was decided.

ON the 5th, the Treaty was signed and delivered: And on the 6th the Diet broke up.

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THE same Day, an Account was brought, by a Courier, that the Garison of *Riga* was under Arms to receive Prince *Menzikoff*.

ON the 7th, the Regiment of Dragoons, that was within three Leagues of *Mittaw*, received Orders to mount their Horses to escorte Prince *Menzikoff*.

THE same Day, Prince *Dolgorucki* arrived at *Mittaw*.

ON the 8th, he caused the Regency and the Marshal of the Diet to be called together, and told them; " That the Empress
" of *Russia* would not consent to the Election
" they had made, that she was very much
" displeased, that they should thus withdraw
" themselves from her Protection: That if
" they had made; their Choice fall upon the
" Duke of *Holstein*, or Prince *Menzikoff*, or
" one of the two Princes of *Hesse*, that were
" at that Time in her Service, she would
" maintain it. That when Men went to
" fight they usually took Seconds: And, at
" length, shewed them the infinite Mischiefs
" that would ensue, if they refused to give
" Satisfaction to her Imperial Majesty."

THE *Courlanders* answered him, " That
" they had always sought, with much Earnest-
" ness, the Good-Will of the Court of *Russia*;
" but that they acknowledged no other Pro-
" tection but that of the King and Repub-
" lick of *Poland*, nor could they acknow-
" ledge any other: That having the Right
" of making a free Election, they could not,
" without renouncing that, submit to a
" Prince who would force them to receive
" him: That they had no Need of Seconds,

" not

“ not being willing to fight : That their
 “ Rights were so well founded, that they
 “ would with all possible Submission lay
 “ them before the King and the Republick ;
 “ but if they would destroy them, the Neigh-
 “ bouring Powers were interested to support
 “ the Weakest ; but that they would never
 “ treat with them, as long as *Poland* would
 “ grant them her Protection, being desirous
 “ to continue firmly attach’d to her to the
 “ last Extremity : That with Respect to the
 “ Mischiefs with which they are threatened,
 “ they knew that their Country was open,
 “ and not able to resist the *Russian* Forces,
 “ but that their Cause being just, and having
 “ a powerful Protection, they would not do
 “ what they knew was an Injury to them-
 “ selves, and that they were not to be in-
 “ timidated by Menaces.”

THE same Day, Prince *Menzikoff* arrived
 at *Riga*.

ON the 9th, Prince *Dolgorucki* returned to
Riga. The Duchefs of *Courland* came near
Mittaw, whither Prince *Menzikoff* came to
 join her : This Princess could not be brought
 to approve of the Election that was made,
 either by Intreaties or Promises.

ON the 10th, the Prince arrived at *Mittaw*,
 with a numerous Escorte, and caused the
 Troops in the Town to defile. The next
 Morning Count *Maurice* went to visit Prince
Menzikoff, who, of his own Accord, fell into
 a Discourse on the Motive of his Journey,
 and went on with what Prince *Dolgorucki*
 had been saying before, but with more
 Warmth, declaring plainly, “ That the In-

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“tention of her Imperial Majesty was that
 “the States should assemble again, to pro-
 “ceed to a new Election; that that Elec-
 “tion could not fall but upon himself, or
 “the Duke of *Holftein*, or upon one of the
 “two Princes of *Hesse*, who were in the Ser-
 “vice of *Russia*, and that he was come to
 “*Mittaw* on that Account only.”

COUNT *Maurice* answered him, “That his
 “Design appeared impracticable, if he did
 “not employ indirect Means to succeed in
 “it; that the Diet of the States of *Courland*
 “being concluded, it could not assemble
 “again; that that Diet having chosen him,
 “and given him an authentic Assurance of
 “choosing no other, it could not proceed to
 “a new Election; that if it was forced to
 “it, the Constraint would take away the Va-
 “lidity of it: That the Fate of *Courland*
 “would be reduced to this, that it must be
 “divided into Palatinates, or preserve its
 “ancient Form of Government, in which
 “Case he [Prince *Maurice*] could only be
 “her Duke.”

THIS Discourse was not at all relished by
 Prince *Menzikoff*, who said to him, “That
 “there would be nothing of all this; that
 “*Courland* must look for no other Protection
 “but that of *Russia*; and that he [Prince
 “*Menzikoff*] must be the Duke.” He after-
 “wards asked Prince *Maurice*, *how he pretended*
 “*to support himself?* Upon which he answered,
 “that he knew his Weakness, but the Af-
 “fair would support it self.”

THE same Day, in the Afternoon, Prince
Menzikoff caused the Marshal of the Country,
 the

the Chancellor, and some of the Deputies to come to him. Prince *Dolgorucki* read to them the Credential Letters of the Empress of *Russia*, and Prince *Menzikoff* declared her Will to them, threatening them if they resisted his Orders.

THEY answered with Resolution, *that they could receive none but from Poland*; and would not quit this Intrenchment, altho' the Prince threatened them with bringing twenty Thousand Men into the Country, to make them listen to Reason.

ADVICES came from different Parts in the Evening, that Prince *Menzikoff* would not treat of the Affair according to the Rules they would lay down to him; but the Prince of *Saxe*, seeming unwilling to abandon the Country, was full of Spirit; the Nobility joined him, nor did the Burghers shew him less Marks of their Zeal.

ON the 13th, Prince *Menzikoff* departed for *Riga*, protesting, that if in ten Days he had not a positive and satisfactory Answer, he would return in Company of those who should obtain it for him. Prince *Dolgorucki* remained at *Mittaw*.

IMMEDIATELY after Count *Maurice* had been elected, he wrote the following Letter to the Primate of *Poland*.

" MY LORD,
 " THE Nobility of *Courland* assembled
 " I have elected me Successor to Duke
 " *Ferdinand*, on the 28th of *June*. On this
 " Account, your Highness may regard me,
 " perhaps, as the Chief of a revolted People:

“ But I beseech you to suspend your Judgment for a Moment, and hearken to the Reasons that induced me to pay a DefERENCE to this Election.

“ I confess, my Lord, that convinced as I still am, of the Justice of the *Courlanders* Cause, I had some View to this Establishment; but his Majesty, at my Departure, having forbid me to think of it, I went to *Riga* to pursue the Pretensions I had to some Lands in *Livonia*, and to see if it might not be a proper Time, to treat of my Marriage with the Duchess of *Courland*: Proceedings that could not offend either the King or the Republick. In passing through *Mittaw*, I found the Nobility had been met together for above a Fortnight to elect a Successor to Duke *Ferdinand*. Being at *Riga*, I learnt that Prince *Menzikoff* had sent one of his Creatures with considerable Sums to get the Diet to declare in his Favour. The Duke of *Holstein* also appeared in the Ranks, strengthened by the Protection of the Court of *Russia*. And lastly, that Duke *Ferdinand* had made an Offer to the *Courlanders* to renounce all his Pretensions, if they would elect a Prince of *Cassel*, actually in the Service of the King of *Prussia*, and who was to be supported by *Sweden* and all the Protestant Party.

“ I FEARED, my Lord, and I believe with Reason, that the *Courlanders*, flattered by the Neighbouring Powers with the Hopes of preserving their Privileges, and threaten-

“ ed

“ ed by *Poland* to lose them, might act
 “ a Part equally against the Tranquilli-
 “ ty and Interest of the Republick: It
 “ was this that determined me to put my
 “ self among the Number of the Candidates,
 “ and *Courland* has not inclined to my Side,
 “ but as she imagined, that there was no
 “ other Subject who could be more agreea-
 “ ble to the King and the Republick, nor
 “ give less Umbrage to *Poland* and her
 “ Neighbours.

“ This is what I have the Honour to say
 “ to your Highness in my Justification: You
 “ will find that of the *Courlanders* in the
 “ Memorial hereunto annexed.

“ I beseech you, my Lord, to consider
 “ this with Attention, and put your self for
 “ a Moment in the Place of a Nation threat-
 “ ened to see her self deprived of that Li-
 “ berty which she has so long enjoyed, and
 “ has not deserved to lose. I flatter my self,
 “ that your Highness, convinced of the Jus-
 “ tice of her Cause, will grant her your Pro-
 “ tection.

“ I require it of you, my Lord, and can
 “ assure you, that as long as *Courland* has
 “ that Regard to my Advice, which she
 “ shews at present, she will remain inviola-
 “ bly attached to the Republick: She has
 “ hitherto had no other Sentiments; but
 “ I cannot promise how long she may con-
 “ tinue in them, if drove to Despair.

“ I have the Honour to be, &c.

Signed,

MAURICE of SAXE.

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BESIDES this Letter, Count *Maurice* wrote another to Baron *Osterman*, Privy-Counsellor to the Empress of *Russia*, as follows.

“ S I R,

“ **T**HE Publick speaks so advantage-
 “ ously of your Excellency, and I am
 “ perswaded that that is so rarely mistaken,
 “ that I address my self with Confidence to
 “ a Minister whose Prudence is equal to his
 “ Capacity. I beseech your Excellency not
 “ to take this for a Compliment, the Free-
 “ dom with which I am going to deliver
 “ my self to you will convince you of the
 “ contrary.

“ *THE Courlanders* threatened with the
 “ Loss of their Privileges, did not expect
 “ that in the Measures they took to preserve
 “ them, their Difficulties should come from
 “ the side of *Russia*. The Principle upon
 “ which they founded their Hopes was, that
 “ the Intention of the late Emperor, and
 “ that of the present reigning Empress, has
 “ been and still is, to maintain the Govern-
 “ ment of *Courland* upon the Footing it is
 “ at present; the frequent Assurances that
 “ their Imperial Majesties have given them
 “ upon this Subject, left them no Room
 “ to doubt of it.

“ I have acted in consequence of this, the
 “ Steps I have taken were not concealed,
 “ the Court of *Russia* was not ignorant of
 “ them, and I shew’d in no Manner, that
 “ they were disagreeable to it.

“ *THE Courlanders* could delay the Busi-
 “ ness no longer, they were to prevent the
 “ Resolu-

“ Resolutions about to be taken at *Grodno*,
 “ to divide their Country into Palatinates.
 “ This was what obliged their Regency to
 “ call together a Diet so suddenly, in which
 “ they might agree on Measures to be taken,
 “ the most efficacious for the Preservation of
 “ their Liberty.

“ THEY found no-Expedient so safe as
 “ that of electing a Successor to Duke *Ferdinand*. This was to be a Subject agreeable to the King of *Poland*, and one who
 “ could give no Jealousy to their Neighbours. They thought they had found that
 “ Subject in me, whom they have elected.
 “ The Election was unanimous, and the Diet
 “ was concluded by a Treaty between the
 “ Nobility and my self, which united us in
 “ such a Manner, that we could not with
 “ Honour be separated.

“ Things stood thus, when it was made
 “ publick that Prince *Menzikoff* was coming
 “ into *Livonia*, not satisfy’d with what had
 “ been done at *Mittaw*.

“ UPON a Report being spread, that your
 “ Excellency would accompany him, I sent
 “ a Person I could confide in, to *Riga*, to
 “ make you my Compliments, to inform you
 “ of all that had passed here, and to conjure
 “ you to interest your self in the Justice of
 “ the Cause of the *Courlanders*; but learning
 “ afterwards, that your Excellency still continued at *Petersburgh*, I wrote to Prince
 “ *Menzikoff* in such Terms, as I thought
 “ the most likely to soften him. The Duchess
 “ of *Courland*, on her side, solicited him
 “ strongly in Favour of the Country, but
 “ could

“ could not alter his Purpose. At his Arrival at *Mittaw*, he assembled the Regency, and would have forced them to convoke a second Diet, to break the Election, and instal him in my Place. The Chiefs of the Regency were threatened to be sent into *Siberia*, and the Country to be left to the Discretion of twenty Thousand Men, if the Diet was not assembled within ten Days.

“ I shall not consider if these Menaces were founded on Right, I leave your Excellency to judge of that. In withdrawing themselves from *Poland*, dared they acknowledge another Protection without exposing themselves to be juridically stripped of their Privileges? Nevertheless, if they resist the Orders that have been given them, they expose themselves to utter Ruin; if they obey them, they renounce their Treaty, their Oaths, and run the Hazard of the just Indignation of *Poland*.

“ You see, Sir, to what the *Courlanders* are reduced, and it is upon a Letter of Credence for her Imperial Majesty, of which Prince *Dolgorucki* was the Bearer, that they have been thus dealt with. What would the Empire of *Russia* say, if the People under her Protection were treated in the same Manner?

“ I do not write to you as a Minister, but as a Man whose Esteem and Friendship I have very much at Heart. I flatter myself that what is between you and Prince *Menzikoff*, will not hinder you from reflecting on the Fate to which the *Cour-*
“ *landers*

“landers are destined, and if they have in
 “any wise deserved it. Let your Excellency
 “consider the Consequences that may follow.
 “If it was only my self that was interested
 “in their Preservation, they might be de-
 “stroyed without regarding the Consequen-
 “ces; but they have a more powerful Pro-
 “tection, and the present Situation of *Europe*
 “is such, that the least Spark may light up
 “a general Flame. I have the Honour to
 “be, with the greatest Respect, &c.”

THE Duchess Dowager of *Courland*, who hoped by the Consequences of this Election to facilitate her Marriage with Count *Maurice*, one of the most agreeable and most accomplished Princes of the Court of *Saxony*, contributed very much to this Choice, and went immediately to *Petersburgh*, to engage the Empress *Catbarine* to become his Protectress, and to bring Prince *Menzikoff* to desist from his Designs; and she succeeded well enough in this Negotiation, since Prince *Menzikoff* forbore his Menaces, and the States of *Courland* were assured, by the Duchess Dowager, that she would soon return with all the Protection of the *Russians*.

In the End, the Diet of *Poland* being reassumed at *Grodno*, they cited thither the Ministers of the Duchy of *Courland* in vain, in vain they shew'd their Wrath against them, and against Count *Maurice*; no Body appeared, and so the Diet were at full Liberty to condemn Persons who did not plead in their own Cause.

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THE Affair of *Courland* was the principal, and caused many Debates, in which Count *Maurice* and the States of *Courland* were treated with a Haughtiness and Contempt not to be expressed. They obliged the King to write twice to this Prince to incline him to desist from his Election, and put the Act of it into his Hands, but to no Purpose, for the Prince made no other Answer but “ that
“ he thought himself obliged to obey his
“ Majesty, as his Lord, but in what concerned his Honour he hoped, and flattered
“ himself, that his Majesty would have the
“ Goodness to allow him to preserve it.”

THIS prudent Answer irritated the Nuncio's, and there were those among them who proposed to treat the Prince as *an Enemy to his Country*. They even read a Constitution against him, and all was ended in obliging, or rather forcing the King to sign the following revocatory Diploma.

“ AUGUSTUS II. By the Grace of God, King of *Poland*, &c. For as much as we have always regarded the Amity and Affection of our most dear Burghers and Inhabitants of this Kingdom, as the principal and most solid Foundation of our Government, and as we have endeavoured, and still endeavour to extend the Frontiers of the Republick, and to re-unite to her the dismember'd Countries: For these Reasons, and to prevent all Pretexts that may happen thro' any Distrust between the Sovereignty and Liberty of the Country, in consequence of the *Pacta Conventa*, and our preceding Diploma, we have
been

been willing to promise and engage our Royal Word, that we will not allow any one whomsoever to dismember the Province of *Courland* from the Body of the Republick, to which it has been united for so long a Time, and which, by Virtue of the *Pacta* or Conventions of Submission, ought to return to the Dependence of the King and States of the Kingdom, and of the Grand Duchy of *Lithuania*, after the Death of Duke *Ferdinand* without Male Issue.

WITH this View, and to take away all Hopes from those who aspire to this Succession, we declare, that we will never yield the Investiture to a new Duke, either in particular or jointly with the States.

NEITHER will we give Assistance to any one whomsoever, directly nor indirectly; on the contrary we give our Command to Count *Maurice of Saxe*, to retire immediately out of the Duchy of *Courland*, without Power to return thither, or taking any Interest therein, under any Pretext, Pretension or Title whatsoever.

WE declare moreover, that we will oblige the said Count to restore all the Instruments and Acts that have been made in his Favour in a forbidden Assembly, that they may be put into the Hands of the States of this Republick actually assembled in Diet, as null and void; and the *Courlanders* who have been the Authors of these Instruments and Acts, shall be judged before our Tribunals of Relation.

WE order and allow, that the present Diploma, signed by Us, and sealed with the
Seal.

Seal of the Crown and the Grand Duchy of *Lithuania*, be put into the Hands of the Marshal of the Diet, and inserted not only in the Laws, but also in the Register of each Palatinate."

By two Constitutions of the Diet, Count *Maurice of Saxe* was put to the Bann for not having appeared, and for not having given up the Act of his Election; and a local Commission was established, which was to open before the next Year, to enquire after the Authors of the Convocation of the States, and to punish them according to the Exigence of the Case. At length the following Plan was prepared for the Re-union of *Courland* to *Poland*.

"FORASMUCH as Experience shews us, that States and Nations re-united under one Chief and one Form of Government, become more happy, more powerful and more easily to be governed, than when they are disunited and divided; and that we may keep to the Pacts and Engagements of eternal Submission and Incorporation, concluded freely and without any Restraint, and confirmed by Oath, as well as to the Constitution or Establishment of the Year 1589, in Default of Heirs Male of the present Duke *Ferdinand* of the Family of *Kettlers*, preserving to him all his Rights, Possessions and Privileges during his Life; exempting him, on Account of his great Age and the Services he has done the Republick, from the Obligation of coming in Person to take his Oath, and do
Homage

Homage according to the Contents of the Constitution of 1683; and allowing him to discharge that Duty by an Envoy.

FOR these Causes, we would re-unite and incorporate with the Kingdom of *Poland* and the Grand Duchy of *Lithuania*, the Duchy of *Courland* and *Semigall*, with the Territory of *Pilsen*, and all that depends upon it, in the same Manner that they were before united and incorporated with the Body of the Republick, against all unjust Possession, and against all Invasion of Enemies.

By excluding, rejecting and abolishing for ever, all Substitution or Investiture of a new Successor after the Death of the present Duke *Ferdinand*; we break and annul, at the same Time, all the Undertakings and Practices which have been unjustly carried on, against our Mandates, Orders and Prohibitions, and particularly the last unlawful Assembly, with all the Acts that have been prepared concerning a pretended eventual Succession. By Virtue of our supreme Power, and of the immediate Power of the Republick, we declare by a perpetual and irrevocable Law, all these Undertakings, Practices, and illegal Acts, to be null, void and insubstantial, without any Advantage to be drawn from them.

AND lastly, That the Demands and Representations of the States of the Province of *Courland*, with Respect to their domestick Affairs, and the Methods taken to settle their interior Welfare, and Government, may be expedited and terminated the most speedily, to the Advantage of every one, We name, by the Consent of all the States of the Re-

publick; for Commissaries, on Part of the Senate, Messieurs *N. N.* not only to hear and examine the said Demands and Representations, but also to settle the Regulations in that Province, and in Consequence thereof, to adjust all the Differences, and all the domestick and foreign Pretensions, with Orders to make a Report of all to the Republick; that they may receive the Approbation and Confirmation of the next Diet.

WE give Power to the said Commissaries to judge speedily, and punish all those who may oppose them, or rebel against the Laws of the Republick, the Authority of our Commissaries and the present Constitution: Enjoining, by the Authority of the present Diet, the Generals of both Nations, to assist them with Troops, when they shall be required; and when the said Commissaries have fixed the Time of their Commission, by Circular Letters, would have them execute it as soon as possible.

WE forbid, at the same Time, by the Authority of the present Diet, all the Inhabitants of the Duchy of *Courland* and *Semi-gall*, and of the Territory of *Pilsen*, whether in general or in particular, to maintain or carry on any Correspondence, Negotiation, or Alliance with foreign Ministers, to make any Innovations, or form any Designs that may be prejudicial to the Rights of the Republick, either directly or indirectly, under any Title, Appearance or Pretence whatsoever; under the Pain of the Crime of *Leſe Maſeſty*, and High-Treaſon, and of being punished with all the Rigour of the Laws;

to which also shall all the Promoters, Accomplices and Executors of the said Contraventions be liable, according to the Laws established by the Treaty of *Warsaw*, &c."

THUS far the *Polanders* pushed this Affair, which *Russia* was so much the more interested in, as Prince *Menzikoff* flattered himself, that he should bring the States of the Duchy to determine in his Favour. It is true also, that these States reckoned upon the Protection of the Empress in case they were drove to Extremities, but then they dreaded the despotick Power of that Court, which could not fail, with Time, to find a Pretence to govern them, as she had a Mind, since she might consider them as a conquered Country; and this would not be the first Time, that it has been seen, that the Protectors, and those who have come to the Assistance of a Nation, have made themselves Masters of it. It is not therefore surprising that the *Courlanders* found themselves under great Perplexity. Count *Maurice* himself was much embarrassed; on one Side he saw the angry *Polanders* condemning without hearing him, and even without being inclinable to hear him; and, on the other Side, those who had just elected him threatened with the severest Punishment; their respective Interests firmly united the Count and the States, and obliged them to take their Measures in common.

It was understood at the Beginning of this Year, that the King of *Great Britain* was disposed to send another numerous Fleet

into the *Baltick*, under the Command of Admiral *Norris*; that the Court of *Denmark*, pressed by those of *France* and *Great Britain*, if she had not acceded to the Treaty of *Hanover*, at least had concluded a Treaty of Alliance with those two Crowns, by which she engaged to raise a great Body of Troops, and was for that Purpose to be allowed considerable Subsidies; and that the States of *Sweden* had desired their King to fit out a large Squadron of Ships, and to bend all his Cares to re-establish his Marine. The Empress, on a Review of these Circumstances, took that Course which Prudence dictated, contented with having thrown the Powers (which one knows not what to call, with respect to her, since they were not Enemies) contented, I say, with having thrown these Powers into considerable Expences, she made no Preparations; and ordered only some Vessels and Frigates to be put to Sea, to sail between *Revel* and *Cronstadt*, to observe these Squadrons; persuaded that they would not commit any Hostilities in the Gulph of *Finland*, and especially as *Great Britain* seemed to have Employment enough elsewhere; for Affairs seemed to tend to an open Rupture between the Allies of *Hanover* and those of *Vienna*. *Spain* besieged *Gibraltar*: It is true the Emperor of the *Romans* took no Part in this Enterprize, but he had broke with the *British* Court, by a Sort of Contradiction to the Heads of the King's Speech to his Parliament, and by refusing to admit the Declaration of his Minister to the Dictatorship of the Diet of the Empire.

ALL these Dispositions seemed to foretel a War, for which Reason the Empress of *Russia*, at the Request of the Emperor, gave Orders to assemble a Body of thirty Thousand Men, who were to march on the first Notice from the Emperor; one Part was assembled near *Smolensko*, and the other towards *Riga*; but it was to be feared that they could not get into the Empire, because the Kings of *Poland* and *Prussia* did not seem inclined to grant them a free Passage. Be that as it may, these Preparations were of no Consequence, by the Signing of the Preliminaries of a Peace, in which it was stipulated, that the Powers of the North should be invited to the Congress that was to be held.

BUT this System was not agreeable to that of the Ministers of the Duke of *Holstein*, especially to M. *Bassewitz's*, who had prepared the following Plan before the End of the preceding Year.

“ARTICLE I. The present reigning Empress shall reign and govern the *Russian* Empire alone, with an absolute Power, and Sovereign Authority to the End of her Life, at least, if she is not willing, of her own Accord, to resign and confer the Government and the Empire to her Successor.

II. THE Person who shall succeed the present Czarina, after her Decease, or voluntary Resignation, shall be the young Great Duke *Peter Alexowitz*, Son of the late Prince *Alexis Petrowitz*, and to him shall succeed his legitimate Posterity.

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III. As there is no Likelihood that the *Russians* will ever consent to the Dismembering of their Empire, the Duke of *Holstein*, knowing their Sentiments well upon this Article, how just soever were the Pretensions of the late Czar, at least to the Provinces conquered by that Monarch, the Children of the late Emperor shall leave to their Nephew the young Great Duke, the quiet Possession of the *Russian* Empire, and content themselves alone with enjoying the Domains dependent on the Circle *Oesel*, *Esthonia* and *Livonia*, with the Revenues of the Customs of *Riga*.

IV. As soon as the Great Duke shall be of an Age to marry, a Wife shall be chosen for him out of the House of *Lubeck*.

V. In case it shall please God to take the Great Duke out of the World, without his leaving any legitimate Issue, the *Russian* Empire shall fall to the Princess *Anne*, Spouse of the Duke of *Holstein* and to their Children, however, with this Restriction, that the Child of that Princess, who shall become King of *Sweden*, cannot be Czar; the Duke of *Holstein* knowing also the Sentiments of the *Russians* upon this Article.

VI. THE Princess *Anne* happening to die without leaving any Children to succeed her, the Empire shall fall to the Princess *Elizabeth*, second Daughter to the Czarina now reigning, and to her Posterity.

VII. NOTHING being more truly for the Interest of the King of *Prussia*, than the Expulsion of the *Hanoverians* out of the Country of *Bremen*, and this Expulsion, being an

Affair on which the Repose of *Europe*, and particularly that of the Empire absolutely depends; that the King of *Prussia* may be brought to favour this so much desired Expulsion, and also to employ himself the most effectually to render the King of *Denmark* tractable, as well upon his Separation from the King of *England*, as upon the Satisfaction to be given by his *Danish* Majesty to the Duke of *Holstein*: The Duke of *Holstein* will dispose the Czarina not only to consent, that there shall be in *Courland* a Duke of the House of *Brandenbourg*, but even will bring her to settle him there, and support him with a strong Arm, against any one whomsoever.

VIII. THE Princess *Natalia*, Daughter of the late Czarewitz, shall be given in Marriage to this Prince of *Brandenbourg*, Duke of *Courland*.

IX. THE Duke of *Holstein* considering the great Advantages that would result from it, if the King of *Prussia* could be disposed to co-operate in the Reduction of the King of *Denmark*, in case there are no Means to make him listen to Reason in an amicable Way, and for the Expulsion of the *Hanoverians* out of the Country of *Bremen*, has thought of another Expedient to engage the King of *Prussia*, if possible, whereby her Imperial Majesty will be satisfy'd, and his Royal Highness, for strong Reasons, will not use any other.

X. BUT if a Defection is found in the King of *Prussia*, or he will not act efficaciously, either against the King of *England* or against the King of *Denmark*, a Prince of *Brandenbourg* shall not then have *Courland*

with the Princess *Natalia*, but Prince *Adolphus Eutin* shall have both the one and the other.

XI. As Prince *Menzikoff* may not, perhaps, be well pleased with the Execution of all the preceding Articles, the Duke of *Holstein*, to quiet his Mind with Respect to certain Apprehensions which the Elevation of the Great Duke to the Throne of *Russia* may give him, is willing, for the publick Good, to consent, that the Son of *Menzikoff* may marry one of his Nieces, Sister to the Bishop of *Lubeck*; this Prince becoming thus Brother-in-Law to the future Emperor of *Russia*, that Alliance and the great Employments which it must needs procure him, will always give him so great a Rank in *Russia*, that *Menzikoff*, in all likelyhood, cannot but be well satisfy'd.

XII. THE Duke of *Holstein*, who charges himself with seeing the Czarina execute all the Points contained in the preceding Articles, having taken Care of the Interests of the Children of the late Czarewitz, in such a Manner, that the Emperor cannot but be well satisfy'd, thinks he has thereby Reason to hope, that the Emperor will not only espouse his particular Interest, but that of his Family, according to the Meaning of the following Articles; and so much the more, as the Emperor has formally engaged himself to do the first, and to permit the other to be done, if not in the whole, according to the Contents of the said following Article, at least, in great Part.

XIII. NEVERTHELESS as there is Reason to doubt, whether or no the King of *Denmark* may be brought to give the Duke of *Holfstein* Satisfaction, unless he is forced to it, by the Way of Arms; and the true Intention of his Royal Highness being to give the Emperor and the Czarina, as little Trouble as possible; the Duke of *Holfstein*, also looking upon the King of *Denmark* as a Prince, whose Friendship may be of great Utility to him in his other Concerns, as well with Respect to *Sweden*, as the Expulsion of the *Hanoverians* out of the Country of *Bremen*.

XIV. FOR these Reasons, and other, the Duke would willingly so far get the better of himself and of his Right, as to abandon to the King of *Denmark* his Duchy of *Sleswick*, and to make Peace with him, on the following Conditions. The Duke of *Holfstein* shall leave to the King of *Denmark* in Perpetuity, the Ducal Part of the Duchy of *Sleswick*, excepting only the Islands that appertain thereto; the said Islands all returning to the Duke, and the King of *Denmark* shall be obliged to pay the Debts charged upon this Duchy. The Equivalent that will come to the Duke for the Loss of this Patrimony and Sovereignty, which indeed is above all Price, will consist,

1. IN the Cession of the Islands mentioned above.

2. IN that of the Counties of *Oldenbourg* and *Delmenborst*, exempt from Debts and free.

3. IN that the Bishoprick of *Lubeck* may pass for ever into the Ducal House, &c.
which

which all together, are not worth two Thirds of the Revenues of the Duchy of *Sleswick*, without mentioning the Sovereignty that is annexed to it.

XV. If the King of *Denmark* will oblige himself, to be sincerely favourable to the Duke of *Holstein*, in his Views with Regard to *Sweden*, as well for himself, as all the Ducal House; the Design of the Ducal House being to secure the Succession in *Sweden* to the Bishop of *Lubeck*, in default of Descendents in the direct Line; the Duke of *Holstein* engages himself on his Side, that, as soon as he shall find himself established on the Throne of *Sweden*, he will yield to his Cousin the Bishop of *Lubeck*, all his Patrimonial Country, so that there shall not be one Inch of Land of the Country of *Holstein* united to *Sweden*.

XVI. THE Expulsion of the *Hanoverians* out of the Country of *Bremen*, being an Affair on which the Repose of the Empire, and of the *North*, absolutely depends, it is of consequence necessary, that it should be done; and if the King of *Denmark* will lend his helping Hand to it, or at least not be against it nor oppose it, *Bremen* being joined to *Oldenbourg* and *Delmenborst*, may, by the Emperor's good Will, be erected into an Electorate, in Favour of the Ducal House; and the Case happening, that the Bishop of *Lubeck* and his legitimate Posterity in a direct Line, should inherit this Electorate and the Crown of *Sweden*, then the Ducal Part shall remain in Possession of the Royal Family of *Denmark*.

XVII. IF the King of *Denmark* is not disposed to quit the Alliance of *Great Britain*, nor to come to an Accommodation with the Duke of *Holstein*, on the Conditions contained in this Plan (these Conditions being the real *Ultimatum* of what the Duke of *Holstein* will ever consent to, in order to a Peace with *Denmark*) he will not be bound by the Offers above, but still reserving to himself his Pretensions, he will push them on to a full Satisfaction, and an entire Indemnification.

XVIII. THE Duke of *Holstein* happening to die without Issue, if the *Swedes* should receive the Bishop of *Lubeck* for their King, and secure the Succession to his Descendants, in such Case and not otherwise, the Electorate of *Bremen* comprising the Counties of *Oldenbourg* and *Delmenborst* shall be annexed to the Crown of *Sweden*.

XIX. THE Duke of *Holstein* takes the Liberty to recommend, on this Occasion, the Interests of the President of his Council, Count *Bassewitz*, for the County of *Barmstedt*."

WE have before observed, that the Empress, from the Middle of the last Year, had constantly found herself disordered, the Symptoms now grew worse, and her Majesty having sent for the first Physician of the King of *Prussia*, he could not judge favourably of the Consequences of this long Malady. To the Chagrin which her Majesty already had, was joined the Discovery of a Plot against her Government. The Counts *Devier* and *Tolstoi* were the Chiefs concerned
in

in it. Their Design, as it was said at first, was to dethrone the Empress, and shut her up in a Cloyster; but it appeared afterwards, that they intended to set the Great Duke, the Son of the Czarewitz *Alexewitz Petrowitz*, aside in the Succession; but it was not known whom they would have put in his Place.

At length, the Depression of Spirits with which the Empress was attack'd, became a real Disease, which obliged her to keep her Bed; and towards the 20th of *April*, it was certain, that she had an Abscess in her Lungs; proper Remedies were given her, and her Physicians had Hopes of her from Time to Time: She was actually thought to be so much out of Danger, about the 10th and 12th of *May*; that Preparations were making to celebrate the 18th, the Anniversary of her Coronation; but these were very soon turned into Mourning, for on the 16th her Majesty relapsed, and the Pains came upon her with such Violence, that she expired the next Day, the 17th, at Nine of the Clock at Night, in the Midst of her Family; whom she recommended with great Tenderness to Prince *Menzikoff*, and the *Great Duke*. She was Aged thirty-eight Years, three Months and twenty Days, and had reigned two Years, three Months and seven Days. Of the Children she had had by the Emperor *PETER the Great*, she left but two Princesses, *Anne Petrovna*, married to the Duke of *Holstein*, and Mother to the present Great Duke of *Russia*; and *Elizabeth* the present Empress; whom, by her last Will, she destined to Prince *Charles Augustus of Holstein*, Bishop of *Lubeck*,

*The Death of
the Empress
CATHERINE.*

Lubeck; but this Prince died a few Days after the Empress CATHRINE, whose last Will was as follows,

“I. **T**HE Grand Prince PETER *Alexowitz*, *Her last Will.*

Grandson of the late Emperor my dear Husband, shall succeed me, and govern with the same Sovereignty, and the same absolute Power, that I have exercised and enjoyed myself, and his legitimate Children shall succeed him. If he dies without leaving any such Children, my eldest Daughter *Anne Petrowna* shall inherit, in this Case, the Crown of *Russia*; and after her, her Children. In case she dies without Children; the Throne of *Russia* shall belong to my Daughter *Elizabeth Petrowna*, and to her Heirs after her. And if it should please God to take my Daughter *Elizabeth* out of the World, without her leaving any Children, then the Throne shall fall to the Princess *Natalia Alexowna*, Grand-Daughter of the late Emperor my Husband, and to her Descendants. Be it understood, that the Persons named in this my present Will, or their Descendants, destined to wear the Imperial Crown of *Russia*, cannot succeed to it, if they already wear another Crown, besides which they shall profess the *Greek Religion*.

FORASMUCH as the Grand Prince has not yet attained to the Age of Reigning by himself, he shall have a Council of Regency, who shall govern during his Minority; and who shall have the Care of his Education. The Majority of Voices shall be an irrevocable Law in this Council, which shall consist of

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of nine Persons; that is to say, my eldest Daughter *Anne Petrovna*, her Sister *Elizabeth Petrovna*, the Duke of *Holstein*, Prince *Menzikoff*, and * five other Senators. This Council of Regency shall not have the Power to alter any Thing in the Order of Succession, which I have thought fit to establish by my present Will, in Form of a fundamental and irrevocable Law.

III. THE Grand Prince shall assist at the Debates in this Council. The decisive Power of this Council shall last, till the Grand Prince hath attained the Age of sixteen Years; then the Authority of this Council shall cease, and the Emperor my Successor shall take the Government upon himself. But he shall not require an Account of its preceding Administration.

IV. THE Princesses my Daughters having yielded, as they shall yield, the Right of succeeding to their Father and Mother, in Favour of the Grand Prince and of his Descendants, shall have a Sum of Money paid to them, once for all, of a Million of Roubles, besides their Dowries which shall be three hundred Thousand Roubles to each. These Sums shall be paid to them during the Minority of the future Emperor; besides this, the said Princesses my Daughters shall each of them have a Pension of an hundred Thousand Roubles a Year, during the Minority of the Emperor; and they shall inherit

* These were the Grand Admiral Apraxin, and the Chancellor Count Golofskin, Prince Demetrius Galiczin, Prince Dolgorucki, who was then in Sweden, and the Vice-Chancellor Count Osterman.

herit alone all my Jewels, Rings, Plate, Moveables and Equipages.

V. THE Affair of the Restitution of the Duchy of *Sleswick* to the Duke of *Holstein*, shall be undertaken in such a Manner, that his Royal Highness may be put in Possession of his hereditary Dominions; and when the Grand Prince shall come of Age, he shall press this Affair with all his Strength, in case it hath not been done in the Time of his Minority. He shall always live in Friendship and Concord with the House of *Holstein*, and when the said Duke shall ascend the Throne of *Sweden*, he shall live in the same Manner with *Russia*.

VI. I consent that my Daughter, the Princess *Elizabeth*, may choose for her Husband, the Bishop of *Lubeck*, Duke of *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, and I give them to this Purpose, my Maternal Benediction.

VII. I WILL and ordain, that the Grand Prince may be engaged to marry one of the Princesses, Daughters of Prince *Menzikoff*.

VIII. I ORDER also, that a convenient House in this City may be given to the Ambassador of *Holstein* to the Crown of *Russia*, and that this House be exempt from Quartering Soldiers, and from all other Charges.

IX. WHEN the Duke of *Holstein* shall judge it proper to go from hence, he shall be furnished *Gratis*, and at the Expence of the Emperor my Successor, with the necessary Carriages and Vessels for his Transportation.

X. My real Estates, which do not belong to the Crown, but are my own Right, whether

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ther by the Gift of the late Emperor my Husband, by Purchase, or otherwise, shall be divided among my nearest Relations.

XI. THE Emperor of the *Romans* shall be desired to guaranty the Execution of this my present Will and Testament; and cursed be those who shall hinder, directly or indirectly, the Execution of it, in the Whole or in Part."

WE shall conclude the History of this great Empress, with the Character given of her, by her Husband, the Immortal PETER the Great.

"ALTHOUGH the Inequality of our Stations was great, yet so far am I, from ever repenting of the Choice I have made, that I have, on the contrary, by marrying *Catbarine*, found myself possessed not only of an Empress in Name, but of one in Reality, for Magnanimity and good Understanding, and of an Angel in human Form, for Beauty and all manner of Virtue.

"SHE embraced the *Greek* Religion in 1703, and has ever since shewn her Attachment to that Faith; by Marks of the strictest Piety and Devotion; by observing its customary Fasts with a more rigid Severity, than any of the *Russians* do.

"SHE understands and talks the *Russian* Language to Perfection: She is judiciously politick, and by an admirable Timing of her Caresses, knows how to sooth my most violent Passions into an absolute
"Calm,

“ Calm, when I inclined to be ever so
“ angry.

“ SHE does not interest herself with me
“ on trifling Occasions, for every one; yet
“ has an indiscoverable Art to flatter those
“ Persons whom she perceives stand highest
“ in my Esteem.

“ SHE shews a courteous and affable Be-
“ haviour to all, but especially to my Sol-
“ diers; and upon all festival Days will con-
“ descend to give my Guards Brandy, with
“ her own Hand.

“ SHE has founded an Order to the Ho-
“ nour of Saint *Catbarine*, which she honours
“ by wearing the Badge of herself. Some-
“ times she confers this Dignity upon the
“ Ladies of her Court; not in too profuse
“ a Manner, but with the utmost Discretion;
“ for she is extremely prudent in all her
“ Management.

“ As to her Person, she is somewhat
“ short, thick-set, and corpulent; yet not-
“ withstanding, she is perfectly agreeable and
“ handsome. Tho’ it was not for any of
“ these outward Endowments, but for the
“ transcendent Virtues of her Mind, and her
“ consummate Penetration, that I have made
“ her the Partner of my Royal Bed, Suc-
“ cessor to my Empire, and her Heirs after
“ me; as well-knowing, that only such *De-*
“ *scendants* are worthy of such *Dominion*, and
“ so great Inheritance.”

FROM this Character of the Czarina *Ca-*
tbarine, says an ingenious *Frenchman*, as drawn
by her illustrious Consort, it must appear self-

evident to all the World, that it was the *sole* Merit of this Princess which raised her in so extraordinary a Manner to the Bed, and singular Affection of one of the greatest Monarchs of *Europe*, both in Power and Understanding.

SHE was long the Wonder of this Part of the World, and in one Word, her whole Life discovered such a Series of female Sagacity, Penetration and Abilities, as cannot be paralleled either in the Histories of ancient or modern Times.

NOT only an excellent Example of Conjugal Affection, and prudent Management in private Life; but great also in the Field of Battle and in the Council-Chamber. Such were her important Services in each of these Capacities, that the Czar himself declares, in one of his Edicts upon her Coronation, "That she was not only the greatest Support to him, through all the Dangers of the last War, but likewise in several other Expeditions, wherein she voluntarily accompanied him; and that both by her Courage, and Counsels, he thought her the most proper Pattern worthy of his Imitation."

THE single Instance of Behaviour on the Banks of the *Pruth*, will confirm this Assertion of her Imperial Consort. With such a Comportment did she behave in all Affairs, whether in Court or the Camp, that her Advice, during the Remainder of the Emperor PETER's Life, was first sought in every Case of Emergency. And with the same Prudence and Magnanimity did she main-

tain her Imperial Dignity when she reigned alone, for that short Space of Time she lived after her beloved Consort.

THE next Day after the Death of the Empress, the Great Prince *Peter Alexowitz* II. was proclaimed Emperor: The Senate, the Synod and the Generality, took the Oath of Allegiance to him; and the Privy-Council having been assembled, the last Will and Testament of Empress CATHARINE was read to them, which was ratify'd by the new Emperor, and by the Council of Regency, who from that Day took upon them the Government of the Empire,

The End of the SECOND VOLUME.



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TO THE

SECOND VOLUME

OF THE

L I F E

OF THE

Empress CATHARINE

O F

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